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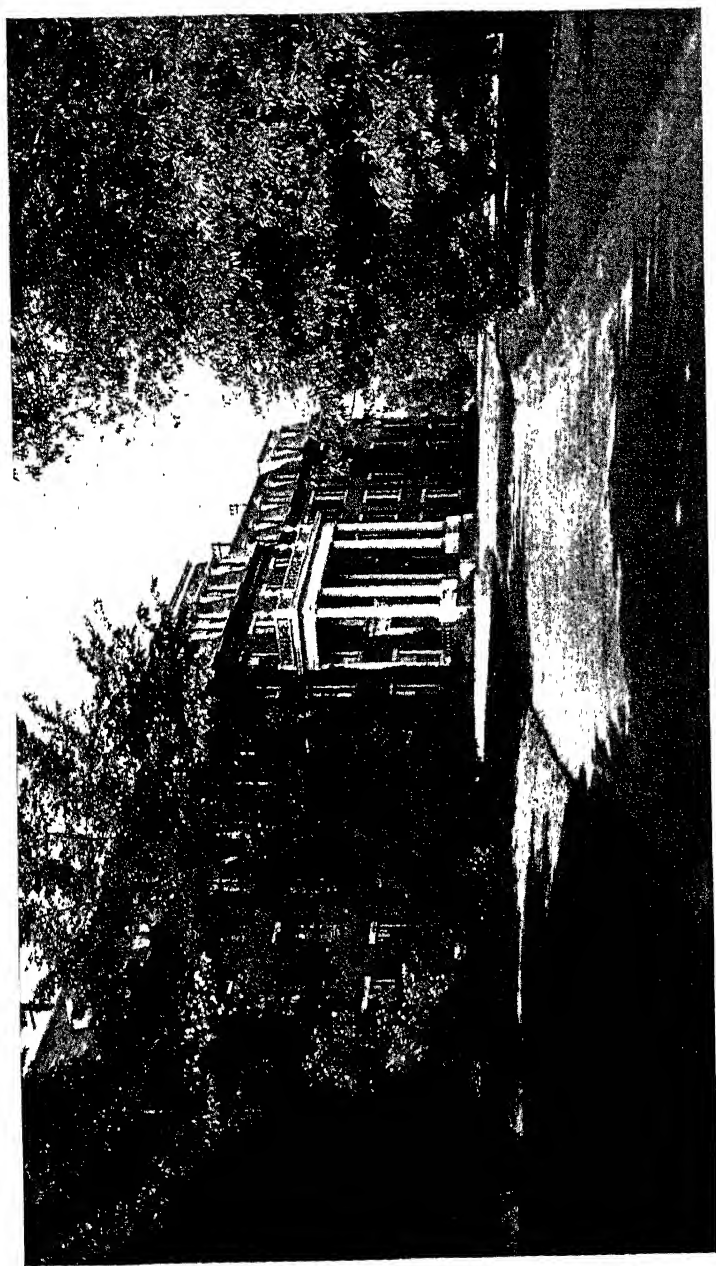
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BRADFORD
A NEW ENGLAND ACADEMY



BRADFORD ACADEMY

Bradford

A NEW ENGLAND ACADEMY

BY JEAN SARAH POND



BRADFORD ACADEMY ALUMNAE ASSOCIATION

BRADFORD, MASSACHUSETTS

1930

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WITH A LOYALTY
BORN OF LONG AND HAPPY ASSOCIATION
THIS HISTORY
IS DEDICATED TO
THE ALUMNAE OF BRADFORD ACADEMY
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has been made possible by the generous gifts of Mrs. Alice Gale Hobson and other alumnae of Bradford Academy who desired that its history might be put in enduring and available form. To the former students, teachers, and trustees who have contributed anecdotes and reminiscences, and have given or loaned many of the documents I have used, I am most grateful. For kind advice and suggestions about relating the Bradford story to the early stages of the education of women, I am indebted to Dr. Arthur O. Norton, Professor of the History and Principles of Education at Wellesley College and Lecturer in the Harvard Graduate School of Education. The research in the history of early schools was done chiefly in the Widener Library of Harvard University, whose hospitality I wish to place on record. I have been helped in the study of local history by the staff of librarians in the Haverhill Public Library and assisted in the Academy by the classification of historical material made by Miss Ermine Stone, former librarian at Bradford Academy.

While the book has been written chiefly for the alumnae, for the Bradford students and teachers of today, and for those who will take their places in the future, others may be interested by the part played in the unfolding drama of women's education by a co-educational academy which, transformed into a substantial preparatory school and junior college for young women, has passed its one hundred twenty-fifth birthday.

JEAN SARAH POND.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

BRADFORD ACADEMY
BRADFORD JUNIOR COLLEGE

FEW American institutions founded more than a century ago have successfully developed without discovering that the names by which they were christened have taken on a different connotation from that of the original. Though the name remain the same in the second or third century, the corporate body may be seen, if examined critically, to have far outgrown its original designation. How many Americans outside of New England easily recognize the Massachusetts legislature under the title, the *General Court*? The names of educational and charitable bodies have been especially susceptible to changes of meaning. No one would suppose that for seventy years the *Maine Charity School* was the corporate name of the Bangor Theological Seminary. Much has been written about the American use and abuse of the term *University*. Recently the state normal schools, by enlarging their curricula, have outgrown their old names and become *Teachers Colleges*.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, before high schools came into existence, charters were granted to hundreds of academies which sprang up in the eastern states. The function of most of these schools was not primarily to fit for college but rather to give a cultural education, designed in most cases, for both boys and girls, and, without neglecting the fundamentals of mathematics and the classics, to offer a fair number of courses of collegiate grade. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century more private schools were founded, especially for girls under the name of *seminary*. Such was the prestige of that term after Mount Holyoke had

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been launched, that Bradford Academy had a narrow escape from being re-incorporated as *Bradford Female Seminary*. Indeed the students of the fifties and sixties preferred that name to *Academy* and constantly used the initials "B. F. S." as the girls of earlier and later years have used "B. A." As the public school system developed, the majority of the old academies were absorbed into that system as high schools. Some, by means of large endowments, grew into the finest of our private preparatory schools thereby emphasizing that meaning of *Academy*. Because there were yet no colleges for women, a few of the academies—Bradford being one of them—and many of the seminaries, developed on the collegiate level, although they still kept their college preparatory function. About the year 1900 Bradford Academy adjusted itself to the new era of colleges for women by offering both a thorough preparation for college and a course of two years for high school graduates.

Then came the Junior College. After years of successful development in the Middle and Far West, this youngest child in the educational family timidly knocked at the door of conservative New England. Without waiting for official sanction, Bradford Academy in 1920 gave a quiet welcome to the stranger and adopted it by raising to collegiate standards courses already in the curriculum of the upper school. The new name—Junior College—of this division of Bradford Academy definitely set off its curriculum from that of the preparatory school, and attracted large numbers of students. At the same time its reputation was enhanced by the high standing which the preparatory division had gained from its success in fitting girls for the women's colleges, admission to which had become highly competitive.

Meantime there was in New England no organization, com-

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parable to those in the West, for accrediting a junior college, a condition which left the newcomer standing out in the cold. Bradford, however, gained recognition as a junior college by the American Association of Junior Colleges, and at last, in 1929, the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools agreed upon standards for the new type of institution—neither secondary school nor entirely a college—which was asking a hearing from that august body. At the next meeting of the Association Bradford met those standards and was the first junior college for women in New England to be admitted to membership in the college division of that important body.

But was the school still an *Academy*? The Massachusetts Board of Education said “No,” and in unmistakable terms urged the trustees to change the name. “Academy,” said the Board of Education, “means to the world at large, a preparatory school and only that.” “Ah,” said old friends of Bradford, “but there is a wealth of tradition and atmosphere in the old name. Why not keep it and be a junior college, too?” But the legal authorities forcibly reminded the trustees that it was best to call institutions as well as other things by their real names. In June, 1932, therefore, by an act of the legislature of Massachusetts, *Bradford Academy* became *Bradford Junior College*. So the Gospel of Realism had its way, but the traditions and atmosphere remain, and the cherished name of *Academy*, applied to the college preparatory division, is still in use. No alumnae, after becoming thoroughly acquainted with the Bradford of today, wish a backward step. They rejoice that their Bradford is still leading the way to higher ground and broader fields.

JEAN S. POND.

August, 1933

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

WHEN, two years ago, the generosity of one of the members of our Alumnae Association made possible the fulfillment of a long-cherished desire that the history of our school should be set down in attractive and permanent form, there was no question in our minds as to who should be the author.

Jean Pond came to Bradford as a young girl in the autumn of 1881 and was graduated in 1885. Two years later she returned as a member of the faculty, and during six years her qualities of mind and heart endeared her to all her associates and pupils. During the next ten years she taught continuously elsewhere, except for a year's interval of study at Ann Arbor. When, happily for Bradford, she returned to the Academy in 1902, there was general rejoicing among the alumnae of the eighties and nineties, who, on their visits from time to time, had greatly missed her welcoming presence. During these many years Miss Pond has continued to teach at Bradford except for two sabbatical periods, during one of which she completed her work for the degree of A.B. at the University of Michigan. She has also rendered valuable service as the secretary of the Alumnae Association, has occupied for a considerable period the position of Assistant Principal, and for one year was Acting Principal. For the greater part of this time she has been senior member of the faculty.

Her long and devoted service during four administrations makes her the one link between the Bradford of today and that of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, while her knowledge of the history of the school and her warm per-

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sonal interest and her loyalty through her close relation to it, have given her unique qualifications for her task.

During a year's leave of absence from active school duties, Miss Pond has accomplished the task which has been very near her heart, and one cannot read the following pages without realizing that she has known "the joy of the working." We believe, moreover, that her history will not only cause to live again in our memories the men and women and girls of the Bradford we knew in our own periods of life there, but that it will give to us and to many general readers a more adequate conception of the notable place our school has occupied among the educational institutions of New England and of the splendid work it has accomplished.

As alumnae of Bradford Academy, we wish to express to Miss Pond our grateful appreciation.

AGNES SMITH STACKPOLE.

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CHAPTER I

A NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE

1802

A NARROW road winds for about eight miles along gently rolling hills a few rods south of the Merrimack River, which here forms an irregular double oxbow in its northeasterly course to the sea. An airplane would furnish the ideal vantage point for surveying this highway, for we should not be in danger of foundering in the April mud, as is the stage-coach which is just now on its lumbering way to Andover and Boston. That superior viewpoint would also let us see the whole of the straggling town of Bradford, in its three rather distinct villages, also the outlying farms which stretch southward to Boxford and Rowley. We would see that the west or "Upper End" around Head's Hill (now Ward Hill) and the east end (now Groveland) are both somewhat more populous than the middle section near the new Haverhill bridge.

If, in lieu of the airplane, our imagination hovers over Head's Hill we can realize what an ideal spot it was for the necessary "Watch and Ward" in the days of danger from the Indians. There the watchers could see Gage's Ferry, the only crossing of the river on the old road to Methuen. The Indians have disappeared, the "Ward" is no longer necessary, but the name has clung to the hill.

Our attention is attracted by a group of children leaving a shabby schoolhouse at a fork in the road a few rods east of the spreading base of the hill. This must be the very schoolhouse built in 1738, "18 by 20:7 feet stud, on the east corner of Deacon Hall's land by the country road,"¹ at a cost to the

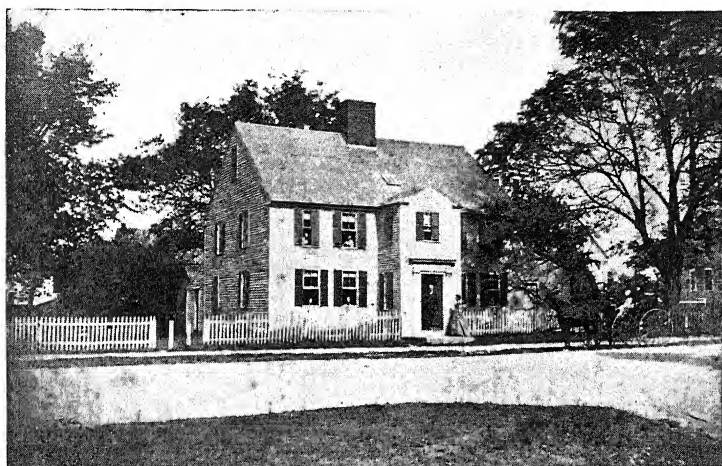
¹ Bradford Town Records.

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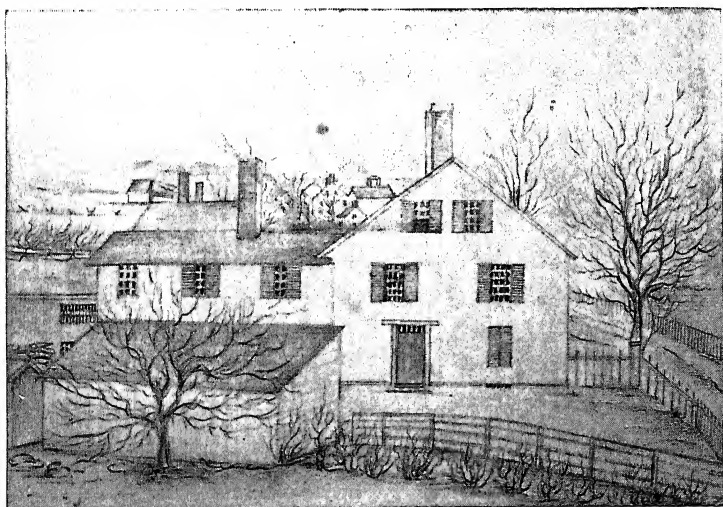
town of twenty pounds. If all the children in this district should wish to attend school at the same time, the little building would not hold a third of them, but neither law nor custom will create that emergency for many years to come. On this April day only a part of the younger children are gathered here to attend a "mistress school," a makeshift of the penurious school program, where, for a pittance, the youngsters can learn the alphabet and, if the mistress does her duty, the catechism. For the older children, in this largest of the three school districts, are allotted four months of schooling during the year, the longest period which the town affords; and since the boys and girls are not allowed to attend school outside their own district this is their only chance for an education.

It is not, however, such problems of economy which now engage our attention; we are interested for the moment chiefly in the exterior of a town which has already behind it more than a hundred and thirty years of honorable history. If we should follow the road southwestward from the little school-house, we should come presently to the Andover boundary, or, more strictly, to that of the North Parish of the Andover township, a troublesome boundary which the selectmen of both towns have frequently "perambulated" to settle the disputes of various citizens.

Our interests lie in the opposite direction, so we turn eastward for a mile or two. We cannot lose our way, for there is no branching road, only farms and woodlands of maple, beech, and oak, with here and there a comfortable home behind a well-built fence. Here on the left in a dip between hills is the Day house, built amply and substantially of brick. Up the slope and farther on—here at last, on our right is the home of John Hasseltine with adjoining farm, most of which is on the opposite side of the road, sloping northward toward the



KIMBALL TAVERN



THE HASSELTINE HOUSE

(Drawing made by a student from the attic of Mr. Greenleaf's house)

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river. Nearly opposite is the fine house of John Peabody, famous for its beautiful Georgian interior.

Beyond the Hasseltine house is a large empty lot reaching to the corner of the Boxford Road, the future site of the first Bradford Academy, around which our story is to center. Neither this spot nor the "Chadwick Meadow" beyond, where more Academy history is to be enacted, looks attractive to us, but across the main road is the entrance to a lane — we have but to let down the fence rails — leading invitingly downward under acacia trees toward the river. Neither April mud nor time will allow the excursion now, for our curiosity is aroused by a number of men all talking rather excitedly coming from the direction of the meetinghouse where a town meeting has just adjourned. Four of them stop in front of a large white house on our left. One, conspicuous for his powdered wig, cocked hat, short breeches, and knee buckles, the Reverend Jonathan Allen, is inviting the other three to enter his house to continue their discussion. As he opens the gate he is saying, "Is it not five years, Major, since the town voted any improvement in our schools?" Major Kimball's answer and the grumbling comments of Dr. Walker and John Hasseltine we cannot overhear, as can the fifteen-year-old girl who opens the front door and courtesys to the gentlemen. Of Betsey Allen, the parson's daughter, we shall hear more in future.

Eavesdropping on our part not being in order, we go on down the road past the house bought later by Moody Spofford of Georgetown, and come in sight of the schoolhouse (afterwards the "Master's School") under a spreading ash tree which adds a bit of grace to its unkempt appearance. School is not in session, for the term of two and a half months allotted to this district does not begin until November. As we turn aside to let a heavy-laden pack horse pass, the saddle

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bags stuffed with shoes for a Newburyport market, we hear from a group of men going toward Kimball's Tavern, "Well, I tell you, Ezra Trask, if Squire Thurston had been Moderator today, same's he's been so many times, we'd have passed that redistricting clause in the warrant."

"Probably being on the school committee, you know more about that than we do, John Griffin, but if we have more districts that means more schools to support and no better teachers in any of 'em; and I tell you that my Seth and Rebecca won't put up with any worse than they had last term—though it didn't hurt Rebecca much, since the females can't go but two hours a day."

They are now beyond earshot. Before following them toward the tavern we cross to the common where stands the meeting-house.

This, the third building of the First Parish of Bradford, faces south but has entrances on both ends. Without steeple or bell, its porches on three sides give it a hospitable look. Its gray unpainted exterior has an air of dignity and age, and rightly so, for it has been the center of the life of the town for half a century. The building has not yet been locked since the town meeting broke up, so we may enter and look at the high pulpit under its sounding board, the square pews with balustered rails, and the aisles crossing at right angles in front of the pulpit. If we venture to sit in one of the seats of the deacons or the tything men and picture the Sabbath Day congregation we shall happily reflect that the ancient rule of the women on one side and the men on the other has been disregarded of late, and that the children may sit with their families though not far from the watchful eye and long stick of the tything man. A stove, too, shows that quite recently some high authorities have concluded, not without a battle, that a

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zero temperature through two long services in winter is not necessary for godliness.

Parson Allen, who has been the West Bradford minister for eleven years and is now in his vigorous prime, is a sane and progressive man, keenly alive to all the material needs of the community as well as to its spiritual life. He is, in fact, thought to be too frivolous and social for his high calling. John Hasseltine has added a dance hall to the rear of the second story of his new house — the one we have just seen — and there the jovial parson often watches the young people of his parish as they dance the quadrille and minuet or take part in livelier games. Rumors of such festivities, sanctioned by the parson's presence, have spread to sanctimonious ears, but the busy parson goes on his way, preaching two solemn sermons every Lord's Day, visiting every home in his broad parish, and taking part in public affairs. His address commemorating the life of Washington, given recently at the request of the town, was a particularly able one. As an *ex-officio* member of the school committee he regularly visits the schools and regrets that he can do so little for them.

The good man is not to escape criticism, however. Three years later an anonymous pamphlet, *A Letter from Fidelis to His Friend, Exhibiting some leading traits of the Character and Conduct of Modern Liberal, Frolicsing Ministers* (Essex, 1805), had its source in Haverhill. The incredible contents can scarcely be inferred from the following extracts :

"Mr. A.'s orthodoxy is corrupted by doctrines of Arians and Socinians, which are infinitely below the true standard of gospel and morality. . . . He pretends to be a Calvinist, yet he can be (on occasion) a thorough Arminian. But that is not the worst. At a meeting of ministers Mr. A. and Mr. E. (Eaton of Boxford?) zealously advocated the cause of frolic-

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ing and dancing. . . . They said that they themselves did attend the frolics with their young people. . . . In seasons past Mr. A. has attended frolicings and dancings with his young people, not only till nine o'clock, and ten o'clock, and eleven o'clock, and twelve o'clock at night, but even till one o'clock in the morning."

After such an occasion as the April town meeting the parson is especially anxious about his young people. Himself a graduate of Harvard, he sees no chance for any ambitious boy in his parish to fit for college unless he can get to Andover, Exeter, or Dummer Academy. Atkinson Academy, for which his friend Parson Peabody is expending much time and money, is nearer, but it is as difficult to travel back and forth from Bradford to Atkinson as to find the money to attend the other academies. As for the girls of the parish, his own bright-eyed Betsey, the Hasseltine sisters, the Kimballs, the Chadwicks — can nothing be done for them? This is the question which, next to the saving of souls, is most in his mind. Within a few months he is to find an answer, and with it many new problems.

The meeting-house has by this time been carefully locked up, and we turn our steps toward what, since the opening of the new bridge, is becoming the busiest part of the West Parish. On the corner is the inn of Moses Kimball, well known for its hospitality. The old house was probably built by Benjamin Kimball soon after Bradford was separated from Rowley (1668), and has been in the Kimball family ever since its original grant. It is a convenient meeting place, and the taproom furnishes not only plenty of good Jamaica rum but all the news of both parishes. Here the postriders leave mail two or three times a week as they ride from Boston to Portsmouth.

Our wandering continues down the road to the junction

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with Ferry Street, the oldest in Bradford, for at its foot is the ferry, the only communication, until 1794, with the village of Haverhill. Here is the well patronized inn of Andrew Peabody, the usual place for posting public notices, such as the warrant for town meeting, and just at this time, a petition against having a dam built across the Merrimack. There are a few fine houses in this part of the town, and the elm lined street is really attractive, but we are eager to see the fine new bridge about which much has been said. The story is still being told of how Judith Whiting, in her hundredth year, insisted upon walking over it just as soon as it was passable, and died soon afterward in great peace of mind. The bridge has been admired and described by several travellers, the most celebrated being President Timothy Dwight of Yale College, who made his first journey through New England in 1797. He made a series of such tours as a serious kind of recreation, taking notes in his journal. Later he accumulated valuable information about what he had seen, and published the whole in 1821.² He recorded his admiration for the engineering which had produced the three arches of a hundred and eighty feet each, supported by three stone piers forty feet square. "The arches above and below," he says, "have a degree of boldness and grandeur unrivalled in this country. Every part of the work is executed with exactness and strength on the one hand, and on the other with neatness and beauty." When he saw it, it was "perfectly white and brilliant, without that dullness which springs from decay of time." He added a learned discourse on the nature and cure of dry rot which was likely to attack the bridge in time.

A less academic traveller was Robert Gilmore, a fine young

² *Travels in New England and New York*, Timothy Dwight, New Haven, 1821.

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gentleman of Baltimore, who also came hither in 1797. It took enthusiasm and courage to travel from New York to Boston by packet. "We went down to the wharf, but found that the packet would not sail for several days, so we changed our baggage to another packet, left the wharf at three o'clock in the afternoon and got through Hell Gate before night." His journey from Boston to Portsmouth of forty-five miles took one whole day. On returning to Boston he passed through Exeter and Haverhill, "both of which," he says, "are pretty little villages, particularly the latter. Across the river is thrown one of the new constructed bridges, like that of the Piscataqua, only this has three arches instead of one, and the work which supports the whole is above instead of just below the bridge."³

Standing on the Bradford side, Gilmore sketched the bridge and was so interested in his work that the tide rose and wet his feet before he was aware of it.

If we stand on the bridge, and not below it, as Gilmore did, and look across to Haverhill, we shall see a town of approximately twenty-seven hundred inhabitants, about twice as many as in Bradford, and gathered more compactly together, although the township extends further down the river than does Bradford East Parish. Just below the bridge on both sides of the river are wharves and shipyards where several sloops and brigs are in the ways. Ships, brigs, schooners, and sloops are from time to time launched here for the West Indies trade, and some sail to London and even more distant ports. This trade, either direct or by connection with Salem, Newburyport, and Boston, accounts for the fine articles often found in Haverhill shops and advertised in the *Haverhill Observer*.

³ *Tour of the Eastern States*, Robert Gilmore, Illustrated by himself. (Bulletin of Boston Public Library, Apr., 1892.)

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It also explains why many boys in Haverhill and Bradford wish to study navigation, and are glad if any chance instructor can teach them enough mathematics for the rudiments of that subject.

Our ramble in old Bradford has not yet taken us to the eastern half of the town which, since 1726, has been the East Parish, and is to become in 1850 the town of Groveland. Along the river and in the neighborhood of the ferry — there is as yet no bridge here — the village is quite thickly settled, and the East District schoolhouse is entirely inadequate for the children. Town meetings are at this period held alternately in the West and East Meeting-houses. In the latter on the Sabbath we might hear two powerful sermons from the Reverend Ebenezer Dutch, a preacher of “impassioned eloquence.” He, like Parson Allen, is a man of affairs — too worldly, say some — and deeply interested in all sides of the stirring life of his parish. Even though he does not keep an exact list of all the children he baptizes, as was regretted by his successor, the Reverend Gardiner Perry, he would tell us, if we should ask him, all about the output of the new saw- and gristmills on Johnson’s Creek, and the coachmaking which Deacon William Tenney has successfully started. He would become characteristically indignant over the acute needs for more and better schools. Are all the boys and girls of the Hardys, the Atwoods, the Parkers, and scores of other families to grow up in ignorance in these days when a new republican form of government is on trial? His answer would probably be: “Yes, *some* boys *may* get to Dummer or one of the more distant academies. Or perhaps a minister might be persuaded to take a really promising scholar into his home school to teach with his own children. But after all, it is not so much Latin and Greek that the boys need as it is practical lessons in arithmetic, surveying,

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natural philosophy, and geography. And as for the daughters in these homes — they will not remain content, along with their spinning, weaving, and sewing, to read only the *New England Primer*, to write merely to sign their names, to cypher enough to exchange federal money to pounds, shillings and pence. Something will have to be done for these girls, and that soon !”

Yet the school conditions in Bradford in the first decade of the century were not exceptionally bad for a town of its size. They were, on the contrary, better than many ; and in larger towns where the Latin Grammar Schools were provided for boys, the girls were no better off than here.

To understand this situation in the public schools and to see why a partial solution was reached in Bradford by the founding of an academy, it seems necessary to glance at the outstanding facts in the development of the public schools and also to discover what other opportunities there were in this vicinity for the education of girls.

If any gentle readers care only for the story of Bradford Academy, they may skip the next two chapters, but they are “politely requested,” as the old catalogues say, to remember that Bradford Academy was not in its beginnings, any more than it is now, an isolated experiment in education. Nevertheless, its particular pride is that it has had a part in the development of “female education” all the way from sampler making to the junior college.

CHAPTER II

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOLS

THIS is not the place to trace the story of the New England Grammar Schools which began almost simultaneously with the founding of Harvard College, but their existence is an element in our story by virtue of what they were and what they were not. At least seven Latin Grammar Schools, those in Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Braintree, were started between 1636 and 1645 for fitting boys for Harvard and for the ministry. Such being the ideal for classical education, a law was passed in 1647 in Massachusetts Bay requiring every town having one hundred families to support a grammar school, "the masters whereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university;" and a fine of five pounds was the penalty for not providing such a school. But neither the great influence of the church nor the need of training ministers could force all the towns into obedience of this exacting statute. By 1700 about twenty-seven towns of the stipulated size had conformed to it, but we do not know how many more failed to do so.¹ Few communities were as fortunate as Ipswich, where Robert Payne supplied a schoolhouse and made legal arrangements with the town which was to furnish the schoolmaster for whom Payne gave a house and two acres of land. Such scattered communities as Bradford and Newbury found it easier to pay the fine or evade it.

What schools there were in Bradford in the seventeenth century we do not know. Probably there were "dame schools" and perhaps others. It is unfair to infer that the absence of town

¹ Small, W. H., *Early New England Schools*, chap. 1.

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records of appropriations for them means that there were none. The first town enactment about schools that has come down to us was made March 4, 1701: "Voted that the Selectmen have full power to provide teaching for the children of this town to reade and write;" but that power did not, apparently, include the right to appropriate money:

"*Feb.* 8, 1702, the Selectmen are hereby empowered to asses the Inhabitants for the Sum, only what was set down for the schoule master. . . . It was voted that from the time of Ichabods beginning to keep schoule and so forward from time to time, al such parents or masters as send their children or servants to schoule shall pay towe pence per week for such as larn to read; such as larn to wright shall pay four pence per week toward the schouling of children, in or as money." The additional expense, to the extent of four pounds six shillings, was to be met by the town.

If Master Ichabod had only kept a diary telling which of the Bradford housewives were the best cooks, what chores he did to eke out a living, whether he, like Irving's Sleepy Hollow pedagogue, brooded over Cotton Mather's tales of Salem witchcraft, what gossip he carried from one farmhouse to the next, and what pretty girls he escorted to an occasional dance — that would be a school record worth reading! We may only assume that this first Bradford schoolmaster, whose name is known was a firm wielder of the birch, a teacher of "fine flourishes" of writing, and a godly disciple of Parson Symmes, and that when he had taught his brief term, and saved a little money, he went back to college for more learning.

In April, 1703, the town again voted to supply itself with a "Skoule Master," but the next year (March 21, 1705):

"It was voted that the Selectmen should youse thare best prudence to save the town from being fined for not having a

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scoule Master to take care of the teaching the children to Reade and writ."

The town fathers may have used their prudence successfully for the time being, but in 1707, March 17, "Lieut. Richard Kimball was made choyes of by the town to go to Ipswich court to answer the townes presentment for not having a scoule master"; and the following May, "Captain David Haseltine was made choyse of by the towne to appear at the next Infearure Court at Salem to answer said townes presentment concerning the schoule."

We hazard a guess that Captain Haseltine's "answer" was satisfactory, for another three years passed before a school item appeared on the constable's warrant for the town meeting.

March 24, 1710, "The town did then impoure the Selectmen to Imply (employ) women to teach litel children to read . . . and that the towne would make up to those scouledames . . . what the scoulers do not do" (i.e. pay).

But knowing that a dame school was not enough to meet either the law or the children's needs, "it was then voted that the selectmen provide the town with a schoolmaster." Perhaps it was the energetic minister of the Bradford church, Thomas Symmes, whose voice, so gifted in the pulpit, made the motion for the needed schoolmaster. His interest in young people is a worthy tradition in the Bradford church today. At his own request the closing words on his tombstone were, "Here lies one who loved and sought the good of the rising generation."

It is probable that the action of the town in employing women was merely a taking over of some of the expense of such dame schools as were already leanly supported by tuition fees, but this small appropriation could not have supplied the children's needs, so the private ventures of "Dame" or "Mistress" schools continued.

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Since such dame schools were, for a long time, the only ones where girls had the same privileges as boys, or possibly better, it may be well to discover whether these forerunners of our primary schools furnished anything but a precarious livelihood for old women and jests for the adult male. Many are the tales of their absurdities and crudities, based mostly on tradition, for few authentic records of them have been kept. References to scores of these schools have been collected by the authors of *American Samplers*.² If the exquisite needlework, piquant designs, and delicate coloring of these samplers and other embroideries are criteria of the efficiency of the mistresses to do what they were employed for, there must have been some fine teachers among them. Surely many of these girls must have passed far beyond the horn-book stage.

Just at the time Bradford Academy was founded there was in Ipswich a dame school³ kept by a Mrs. Richard Dummer Jewett. She had two children of her own, and along with them she taught scores of children of all ages, from babes of two years to boys and girls of ten and eleven, in a mixture of nursery, kindergarten, and primary school. The session was continuous, having no vacation, no grades, no academic records — none but the methodical account book of Mistress Jewett, in which she valued in shillings and pence, or in federal money, the goods brought to her. Since her husband kept a store, barter was not such an inconvenient method of payment of nine pence a week for older children and eight pence for babies. Beef was credited at eight cents per pound. One tuition bill was paid by a fat goose, thirteen and a half pounds at six

² *American Samplers*, Ethel S. Bolton and Eva J. Coe, under the commission of the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames.

³ *Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony*, vol. 2, 1700-1917, Thomas Franklin Waters. Published by the Ipswich Historical Society.

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pence, and two pairs of wings for the hearth. Jonathan Wells, a Man-of-War's man, had sent his daughter Lydia for fifty-four weeks in 1804, 1805, 1806, and owed six dollars and sixty-one cents. When in 1811 a balance was still due, Mrs. Jewett suggested that since Mr. Wells was then tending the mill, she would like some flour.

The eighteenth-century school items in the Bradford town records are buried among votes on the laying out of highways, decisions as to whether swine and cattle shall go at large, records of impounded horses and cattle, care for the poor, surveying of fences, and sales of pews in the church. This would indicate almost no progress in the schools, but more must have been done than appears. During the Revolutionary years, when the chief concerns were the raising of the town's quota of men and ammunition, the care of the soldiers' families, the payment of doctors and nurses during the epidemic of smallpox, little attention was given to education. By 1800, however, in accordance with a state law, the town had been divided into three school districts, and the exact number of days of schooling for each district was determined by the number of children and the amount of taxes paid in that district.

The school committee, chosen every year, acted with the selectmen and the ministers in visiting the schools and in securing teachers. The school expenses were not recorded separately after the Revolution, but the master was doubtless paid as much as in other places of this size. The difficulty was to find a master. Perhaps some of the committee read the advice about schools in their *Farmers Almanack* with some consideration. They could scarcely avoid seeing items like these from the pen of Robert Thomas, the "Old Farmer."

Nov. 4, 1804. "Now hire a good schoolmaster and send your children to school as much as possible."

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Dec., 1805. "Attend to your schools. Hire not what Neighbor Simpkins calls a 'four dollar master' to instruct your children; it will be throwing money away. He who deprives his children of education at once injures himself and society."

If we look with pity or contempt upon the attempts at public education at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is interesting to find that intelligent people of that day felt the same about it. An indignant contributor to the *Haverhill Observer*, January 29, 1803, wrote as follows:

"Experience has so decidedly established the utility of our town schools, that it is now superfluous to adduce arguments in proof of their advantage. It is true, the sums assessed in our country towns for the support of schools, and particularly if distributed in classes, will go but a little way in maintaining a master of proper qualifications through the year. We cannot expect constant instruction, and therefore our schools should be so regulated as would be most likely to give the best education. The too general custom is, to get the cheapest smatterer from an academy who can be procured, whose pronunciation is barbarous, who writes indifferently, or if he writes well, acquired his art by accident, unacquainted with the method of teaching it mechanically; who has learned his grammar like a parrot, without knowledge enough to analyze a single sentence; whose manners and address present before the young imitators but a model of awkwardness. Such too frequently is the character of country schoolmasters. Having obtained one at a good bargain the next business is to muster an army of children down to the infant just walking alone, and crowd the schoolhouse full. The little snivelling urchins, either in drawling their letters or bawling to see their mothers, occupy a considerable portion of the master's time; while the youth of fifteen, just about to be launched into the

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world, stands waiting for his fun. These, I think serious improprieties which ought to be remedied.

“As schoolmistresses are generally employed in the summer, it is by them young children ought to be taught the first lessons of reading. The expense is but trifling, and in these nurseries they may be improved so far as to follow with the eye the reading of another. Thus qualified to be classed, they are proper subjects for a master’s school, and receive great advantage without monopolizing but a just proportion of his attentions. The wages of a master would not then be wasted in purchasing services which might be obtained for one fourth the sum [from a woman teacher]; all would, sooner or later, have their turn; and the youth receiving instruction at the period when they are most qualified to enjoy the pleasure of learning themselves to become useful members of society.”

All this was good for the boys, but what about the girls? Even in Boston the only public provision made for girls’ schooling up to 1789 was the opportunity to attend the Writing Schools two hours a day, one hour at noon and one in the late afternoon after the boys had gone. The same was true in Haverhill at that time. In 1782 the Reverend John Eliot wrote from Boston to the Reverend Jeremy Bellows at Dover, N. H.:⁴

“We don’t pretend to teach the female part of the town anything more than dancing or a little music perhaps (and these accomplishments must necessarily be confined to a very few) except the private schools for writing, which enables them to write a copy, sign their name, etc., which they might not be able to do without such a privilege, and with it I venture to say that a lady is a rarity among us who can write a

⁴ Kittredge, G. L., *The Old Farmer and his Almanack*, p. 229. Harvard University Press, 1920.

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page of commonplace sentiment, the words being spelt, and the style and language kept up with purity and elegance."

That there were these rarities, educated women of refinement and of real achievement, everybody knows, but where did they get their knowledge of languages, of history, and the arts? One or two examples will partly answer the question. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, often called the "Mother of Kindergartens in America," owed her broad and thorough education to her mother. That mother was Elizabeth Palmer, born in 1777 in an affluent family. On the death of her father she became dependent upon the devotion and resources of her very able mother, a sister of Abigail, the wife of John Adams. In the midst of much spinning, cooking, and sewing Elizabeth Palmer could always snatch time for a book, so when she was invited by her aunt, the wife of Rev. Stephen Peabody of Atkinson, N. H., to make her home with them, she made the most of every opportunity to read and study.

The students of Atkinson Academy were so much indebted to her for help they called her the "walking dictionary." Her poems in a Haverhill paper attracted the attention of the newly founded Franklin Academy, North Andover, which led to her becoming the first preceptress of that school, and to her marriage to the preceptor, Nathaniel Peabody. Their married life sounds very modern, for while the husband went on with his studies, the wife carried on a boarding school, teaching her own daughters, Elizabeth and Sophia (later the wife of Nathaniel Hawthorne), and other boys and girls by methods far ahead of her time. During a three hours' morning session she gave them their lessons in arithmetic, geography, grammar, and physics, while in four afternoons a week she read with them history and literature, discussing with them the *Spectator*, the *Rambler*, articles in the *Quarterly*

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Review, and even Chaucer and Spenser whose works she read in versions of her own. Here then was an apostle of the humanities, inspired by the belief that women, who had more leisure than men, should be the true civilizing influence in communities where the men were still pioneering in ways of gaining a livelihood.

An earlier example of a girl bred in a house of greater wealth but no more culture was Phoebe Foxcroft of Cambridge, who married in 1773 the brilliant young Samuel Phillips, friend of Washington and "true founder" of Phillips Academy in Andover. As mistress of the Mansion House in Andover, Madame Phillips dispensed royal hospitality, but she was, as well, a good business woman, acting as her husband's agent, and for several years keeping his records as town clerk in her own hand.⁵ The last two years of her life (1810-1812) were spent in the home of Esquire Samuel Farrar, trustee and treasurer of Phillips Academy, who had, ever since his arrival in Andover, looked up to Madame Phillips as a model of womanhood. This long standing admiration may well account, as was suggested once at Abbot Academy, for the readiness of his answer when Madame Abbot asked his advice for the disposal of her surplus funds. "Found an academy in Andover for the education of women," was the Squire's immediate response, and Abbot Academy was the result.⁶

Obviously it is impossible to trace the far reaching influence of such exceptional women as Elizabeth Palmer Peabody and Madame Phillips, but the regard in which their achievements were held goes to show that the rarity of educated women was due, not so much as has been frequently maintained, to

⁵ Fuess, Claude, *An Old New England School*, p. 38. Houghton and Mifflin, 1917.

⁶ McKeen, Philena, *History of Abbot Academy*, vol. 1, p. 11. Warren F. Draper. Andover, 1880.

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a determined and concerted opposition to "female education" as to poverty and inertia. Shorter hours of work, labor saving machinery, and a longer period of non-earning years, with their attendant increase of wealth and leisure, are the factors which have, in these latter days, filled our high schools, private schools, and colleges to an overflow. So it was a hundred and twenty-five years ago. Economic and social expansion, which came with such force in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was bound to set free an energy in thousands of thoughtful women and to change the lives of girls and women as they had never been changed before. A wedge was inserted into the indifference and complacency of a people too greatly occupied with the marking out of literal highways and the laying of literal foundations to be disturbed by signs that all women were not satisfied with knowing only the home-making arts. Possibly some felt without voicing it the truth of a remark of Sidney Smith's,⁷ "If women knew more, men must learn more, for ignorance would then be shameful, and it would become the fashion to become instructed." It would be foolish to claim that the entering wedge was inserted by any one man at a given date, but it is certainly true that the private ventures of several men and some women into the fields of education for girls led the way for public school opportunities.

This was most obviously true of the work of Caleb Bingham⁸ who is usually credited with starting the first school for girls in Boston, and it detracts nothing from his fame as a pioneer to show that there had been private schools before the Revolution where girls were taught to read, write, embroider, and possibly to keep accounts. Bingham, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1782, was a young man of such promise that

⁷ *Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1810.

⁸ Barnard's *Journal of Education*, vol. v, p. 325.

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he was temporarily put in charge of Phillips Academy, Andover, on the resignation of Dr. Pearson, but the young scholar's health was not equal to the task, and in 1784 he went to Boston where he opened a successful school for girls located probably on the lower corner of Devonshire and State Streets. At that time the public writing and grammar schools were controlled by the selectmen and the school committee. Since the selectmen were usually prosperous merchants who could give their daughters the chance to go to Bingham's school, it seems to have occurred to them that it was foolish to pay taxes to support schools for their boys and at the same time tuition fees for the schooling of their girls; why not let the taxes support schools for both? So the plan was made to supply extra rooms, but to keep the same teachers. They let the boys attend school in the morning and the girls in the afternoon for a month, and then reversed the order, so that a master who kept the same room, taught boys one half day and girls the other half, with this important limitation, that girls should attend only in the summer terms, April to October! Bingham taught in this "double-headed system" till 1796. By that time his interests in his textbooks and his bookstore on Cornhill, which became a kind of headquarters for Boston teachers, drew him away from his teaching. *The American Preceptor* (1794) and *The Columbian Orator* (1797) were sold in the hundreds of thousands. Bradford Academy Library owns a copy of "*The Young Lady's Accidence, or a short and easy Introduction to English Grammar designed primarily for the Use of Young Learners, more especially for those of the Fair Sex, though Proper for Either,*" by Caleb Bingham. The little old book is of the fifteenth edition, 1804, and bears the signature of Mary Davis, of Newburyport, a student at Bradford in 1806.

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Caleb Bingham must share his honors as pioneer in woman's education with some other men and not a few women. We need not consider scores of short-lived and wholly commercial ventures in private schools for girls, some of which did not survive their advertisements. On March 31, 1791, Mr. Thomas Payson advertised in Worcester that he "would open a seminary for young ladies as soon as the roads are settled";⁹ but apparently the roads continued unsettled. Possibly the following experiment had a better reason for success. An advertisement in the *United States Chronicle* of Providence, R. I., December 18, 1800, reads:

"Mrs. Hurley from London offers to instruct young ladies in all kinds of Needlework, Tambour, and Embroidery, with Drawing, Painting and Music on the Pianofort. Likewise in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, French and English Grammar, Geography and History — which will be explained by Rev. Mr. Hurley."

Leaving till a later chapter the story of the rise of the academies which admitted both sexes, our search for girls' schools brings us near home, to Medford, Mass., which was the scene of a succession of private schools, some for both sexes, some for girls alone. The first was opened in 1790 by William Woodbridge who grandiloquently called himself the "Columbus of Female Education." He took out-of-town pupils into his own family and, since the school occupied the fine estate of Colonel Royal, it grew in its seven years to the number of ninety-six girls and forty-two boys. The author of the *History of Medford* (Charles Brooks, 1855), seems to have borne a peculiar grudge against Woodbridge for he says that the master had no objection to corporal punishment on females, and no system of teaching; that he gave it up for baking and fail-

⁹ Lincoln, Wm., *History of Worcester* (1837), p. 306.

THE
YOUNG LADY'S
ACCIDENCE:
OR,
A SHORT AND EASY
INTRODUCTION
TO
ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

Designed principally for the use of young
Learners, more especially those of the
FAIR SEX, though proper for either.

BY CALEB BINGHAM, A. M.
AUTHOR OF THE CHILD'S COMPANION, AMERICAN PRECEPTOR,
AND COLUMBIAN ORATOR.

"Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,
"To teach the young idea how to shoot,---"

THE FIFTEENTH EDITION.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY E. LINCOLN,
FOR THE AUTHOR, NO. 44. CORNHILL

1804.

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ing in that in Charlestown, went to Newark, N. J., where he also taught a school for girls. His son, William Channing Woodbridge, wrote many textbooks.

Soon after Woodbridge's withdrawal from Medford a very popular boarding school for girls was opened there by Mrs. Susanna Rawson, of which we know little except that it grew so large that in May 12, 1800, the town "voted that the second and third rows (of seats) in the women's gallery in the meeting house be allowed Mrs. Rawson for herself and her scholars, and that she be allowed to put doors and locks on them." This school was continued for a few years by a Mrs. Newton, a sister of Gilbert Stuart, but when Boston offered her a more certain patronage she moved thither.

As we wonder where an Eastern Massachusetts girl might be educated in the early nineteenth century we might expect openings in the maritime towns, Portsmouth, N. H., Salem, and Newburyport, where there was wealth and considerable knowledge of the world. In Portsmouth it seems that a Mr. Montague started a "public female day school" for girls of eight years and upward, but Mr. Montague was preparing for the ministry, so he was satisfied with one year's earnings, and passed on the opportunity to some one else who failed to keep up the interest. Doubtless many private schools flourished more or less, but not even their names have survived.

Salem has, among many other bids for fame, the distinction of the first instance of the word *academy* used to designate a girls' school. This was in 1748, and the school was called Union Academy; beyond that we know nothing except that little Mary Crowningshield made there a very lovely sampler. Salem made more generous provision for the teaching of little girls than most towns, limited of course to certain terms

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and certain hours. Some idea of these schools can be gained from the diary of the Reverend William Bentley, minister of the East Church, for many years on the school committee and faithful to his duty as visitor on the stated days. It was not till 1819, however, that girls had anything like an equal chance with boys in the public schools of Salem. Mr. Bentley recorded in his diary:¹⁰

“May 23, 1819; Yesterday, I was the first time with the trustees of the Female School, Marlborough St. near the Tabernacle. The instructor is Mr. Coles. The pupils limited to thirty. It is the first time that ever in a public school I saw young ladies answer questions in geometry, Natural Philosophy and Latin.”

But this record anticipates the period when such reforms were really coming, Salem being one of the first towns in Massachusetts to give such an opportunity to girls.

In Newburyport after 1791 a generous provision was made for girls in the grammar schools, for between April and October the boys were to be kept only half a day, which left the afternoon for girls “who could read tolerably well in the Bible” and to those whose families paid taxes for three hundred pounds real or personal; those who paid *more* were not allowed to send their daughters! Presumably those wealthier families patronized some such school as was advertised in the *Impartial Herald* of March 5, 1791:

“Mrs. Woodbury announces that she will open a boarding school for young ladies at her house on Market St. where instruction will be given in the French and English languages, drawing, embroidery, etc.”

The Newburyport Academy was opened in 1807 for both sexes.

¹⁰ *Diary of William Bentley, Salem, Essex Institute.*

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A girl living in Eastern Massachusetts at the close of the eighteenth century would have found it difficult to travel as far as Northampton or New Haven to go to school, but a privileged few who lived there had the chance, if they could afford it, to attend a day-school for both sexes in Northampton kept (1795-1817) by no less a gentleman than young Timothy Dwight, future President of Yale College. He certainly did not despise the female mind—his mother was a worthy daughter of Jonathan Edwards—for while he was a pastor in Greenfield Hill, Conn., he kept for twelve years an “academy for the higher education of girls.” If he had only made his travels in New England after 1803 rather than six years earlier, he would, perhaps, have added notes upon the new Academy at Bradford to his careful appraisal of Phillips Academy at Andover.

The girls most fortunate as to schooling in all New England at the turn of the century were, so far as I have been able to discover, those living in Litchfield, Conn., or near enough to attend the remarkable school of Miss Sarah Pierce. It may be that hidden away in century-old diaries, are accounts of now-forgotten schools, and of girls as happy and well taught as were those graphically pictured by those Litchfield pupils. One may venture the assertion, however, that not many schoolmistresses made the keeping of a full diary a school exercise, and along with all the teaching, supervised the journals without spoiling the naiveté of the narratives.¹¹

It is not easy to account for Miss Pierce's achievement in progressive education. All we can learn is that, reared in a family of culture, Miss Sarah Pierce and her sister Nancy were sent from their Litchfield home to New York with the ex-

¹¹ *Chronicles of a Pioneer School*, Emily N. Vanderpoel. University Press, 1903.

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press purpose of fitting themselves to open a school in Litchfield. Where or what they studied we do not know.

Miss Pierce opened her school in her own dining room in 1792 and there kept it for thirty-five years, till, after it was incorporated in 1827 as the Litchfield Female Academy, it moved into a new building, "suitable for every branch of study." Miss Pierce had the foresight to send her nephew, John Brace, to Williams College in order that he might assist her. This he did very ably and later took over the school till 1832 when he was called to the Hartford Female Seminary to succeed Miss Catherine Beecher. But this is taking us ahead of our story.

A few extracts from two diaries will show how superior was this school to most of the finishing schools of the day. Charlotte Sheldon was sixteen when she was keeping her diary in the spring of 1796. She says she is becoming "a monster of learning," but the fact that she was a constant reader did not interfere with good times:

"Dressed & danced at a ball. Knit; drew a landscape; parsed; read in *The World*. Read an abridgement of *Sir Charles Grandison*. Miss Sally says that I have been a pretty good girl this week. Read in the *Moral Tales*, though I think them rather immoral. Read *Nanine* by Voltaire; *Helen Moris* *William's letters*; *European Magazine*; Read history at school . . . Was inattentive and got to the foot in spelling . . . Borrowed *The Robbers*, an excellent tragedy . . . Read partly through *Macbeth*, one of Shakespeare's greatest tragedies. Parsed . . . Read in Cox's travels."

Lucy Sheldon was fourteen when she kept her diary in 1801:

"*Monday*. This day Miss Pierce began her school I attended, resolving to improve enough to merit approbation of my parents and instructress, Painted and read grammar, com-

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menced an acquaintance with Miss Bosworth and Miss Good-ear who appear to be very fine girls, in the evening studied a grammar lesson. . . .

"*Thursday*. Studied and recited a grammar lesson, painted, and read some very good pieces in the *Mirror* spent a very agreeable evening at Mr. Allens.

"*Monday*. Assisted Mama, came to school, worked on my pin cushion, read and heard the young ladies read, the Life of Coriolanus in the history of Rome. In the afternoon sewed and read a little in Grandison, which shows that, virtue always meets with its reward and vice is punished, spent the evening at the schoolhouse.

"*Friday* Dec. 25, 1801. As this day was Christmas I attended church and heard a sermon by Parson Marsh very well adapted to the occasion, returned and spent the remainder of the day in sewing.

"*Saturday*. Painted, but as Miss Sally has not kept school [on account of the death of her sister] I have continued my enjoyment at home. Have done nothing for these two or three weeks past worth notice except, have read through pilgrims progress, which I admire very much, and Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son and think it would be well for every young lady to read it.

"*Sunday*. Read ten chapters in the Bible, attended meeting all day & heard two very good sermons, read twenty chapters in the Bible after meeting. In the evening sewed."

A journey of Lucy Sheldon's, like that of young Gilmore on his way to New England, is worth recording. When she went from Litchfield to pay a visit in New York she started by stage that carried twelve passengers. They arrived in New Haven in the evening and went on board the packet, but could not sail for lack of wind. In fact they could not start again

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for two days, and when once on board, the sail to New York took twenty-four hours. "Seasick all day," wrote Lucy.

Miss Pierce's school gained prestige and students from the fact that there was in Litchfield a law school attended by many young men of prominent families. Thither came in 1810 as pastor of the Congregational Church the Reverend Lyman Beecher whose children were all educated in Miss Pierce's school. Catherine, who learned here what she so nobly put into practise in her own Hartford school, has left us a description of the schoolroom:

"It was one room only, thirty by seventy feet, with only plain furniture. Map-drawing, painting, embroidery, and piano were the accomplishments sought, and history was the only subject added to geography, grammar and arithmetic."

Miss Pierce's hobby was "exercise for health" upon which she vigorously insisted. Her courses in history sound heavy, when one considers the textbooks — Rollin's *Ancient History*, Ramsay's *American History* and others. No wonder that Julia Cowles' diary in 1797 has these entries:

"*Tuesday*. The first country (as I recollect) that we read of was Egypt.

"*Thursday*. I do not recollect any history that we read to-day only that there was one Punic War.

"*Friday*. Attended school, read history, but I don't know anything what we read. I don't know as I ever shall again."

This was before Miss Pierce compiled her own textbook, *Sketches of Universal History/Compiled from Several Authors/for the use of Schools*. First Edition, 1811.

Her preface gives a clear idea of the seriousness of her teaching:

"I have compiled these sketches for the use of schools, endeavoring to intermix moral with historical instruction, and

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to obviate those objections which arise in the minds of youth against the justice of God when they read the wars of the Israelites. I have attempted also to give them a general notion of the government of God and of truth of Scripture, by a partial account of the fulfilment of prophecy.”

The much more elaborate course of study, including higher mathematics, chemistry, logic, Latin, Greek, and French, belongs to the later period of the school (1820-1830)¹² when academies and schools for girls had begun to spring up all over New England, but the day had not yet come for the permanent school for girls.

¹² *More Chronicles of a Pioneer School*, Vanderpoel.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE ACADEMIES

IN our search for a school which a Massachusetts girl of about the year 1800 might attend, we have thus far discovered that in the larger towns she might, if she had the money, be admitted to a private school where she could learn to "read with propriety," make embroidery far beyond modern skill, be introduced to a little arithmetic and grammar, and probably acquire what Hannah More called "a frenzy of accomplishments." The complaints about the futility and extravagance of these schools show that the objections were not so much to a girl's acquiring an education as to the only kind she could get. The public schools to which she was admitted were, as we have seen, the "Writing Schools," and to those only for a part of a day four months of the year. The Latin Grammar Schools, designed to fit for college, were obviously not for her. It was in another type of school that she was to have her first real opportunity for an education in any degree equal to that of her brother, a type distinctly American and prevailingly New England, though common in other eastern states. This was the Academy, a term so familiar one forgets that it needs an explanation. Since our imaginary girl wishing for a school is to find it in Bradford Academy it may not be out of place to trace briefly the currents which brought this stream of education, though a tiny one at first, to her door.

For the original source of the academic movement we must turn back to England where the Dissenters were excluded from the universities and most of the schools. Because of this discrimination against them they founded schools of their own, where their boys could begin, and perhaps complete,

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their preparation for the ministry without a university course. We do not know how early the ambitious Greek term *academy* was used for such schools, but Milton in his *Tractate on Education* (1664) wrote:

"First find out a spacious house and ground about it for an academy, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons all under one head master. . . . This place should be at once both school and university, not needing a remove to any other house or scholarship except it be some peculiar college of law or physics."

Milton's lofty plans for a classical education were not adopted either in England or America, but nonconformist academies were established in England where were educated such Puritan leaders as Phillip Doddridge and Isaac Watts. President Arthur Stanley Pease of Amherst College in his historical address at the Sesquicentennial of Phillips Academy, May, 1928, said in regard to the rise of the academies:

"We must bear in mind that it was essentially an outgrowth and a cultural expression of the English middle class, and as such it became known through the writings and in the persons of some of its graduates among the residents of the American colonies. Here, as in England, the academy was to be a token of the emphasis laid upon education by a religious system which left not a little to private judgment."

When, therefore, the academy appeared upon American soil it was practically an indigenous growth, combining emphasis on religion with a realization of social and economic needs which were not met by the universities and Latin Grammar Schools. Two beginnings were made in widely separated spots: Benjamin Franklin's Academy in Philadelphia (1749), which was to become the University of Pennsylvania, and Dummer Academy in Byfield, Mass., which by the will of its founder

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was to be a grammar school to fit boys for college, but having the important provision that it should be privately supported and governed so that it would not be at the mercy of an impoverished town treasury.

When the notion of such a school became common, it was seen that it would provide a much more practical education than the Latin Grammar School required by law but rarely provided by the town. It could be started by individuals or groups in communities where there was no grammar school; it would serve as a training place for teachers so greatly needed; and, incidentally, it might be open to girls as well as boys.

The story of the beginning of Leicester Academy¹ illustrates this new effort for education after the Revolutionary War, during which many schools had been suspended and few new ones started, the two Phillips Academies being the great exceptions. A Revolutionary soldier, Colonel Crafts of Sturbridge, with the help of Colonel Davis of Charlton, realizing the dearth of schools, bought in 1783 a fine house in Leicester, near Worcester, and began raising funds for its use as an academy. Having secured one thousand pounds they were granted a charter in 1784. Its terms like those of nearly all charters granted in the coming years stated that the incorporation was:

“For the purpose of promoting true piety and virtue, and for the education of youth in the English, Latin, Greek, and French languages, together with writing, arithmetic, and the art of speaking; also practical geometry, logic, philosophy, and geography, and such other liberal arts and sciences as opportunity may hereafter permit and the trustees hereinafter provided shall direct.”

¹ *Leicester Academy Centenary*, 1884. Hist. Address by W. W. Rice.

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The school opened in June, 1784, with three pupils, but there were seventy before the term closed. Girls were allowed, but just when they first entered is not clear. It must have been early, for the Honorable Abijah Bigelow, later a trustee, said that about 1790 he took part in plays at the public exhibitions in which both sexes shared. A surprising feature of these plays was that they were given in the meeting-house. Indeed, at a performance of the "Scolding Wife" a Congregational minister played on a viol behind the scenes the bass of a song in the play. That kind of public exhibition was, however, soon held by the trustees to be unworthy of the institution, so they decreed that in future they "should consist of Greek, Latin, or English orations, forensic disputations, dialogues on historical, moral, scientific or sentimental subjects."

The first years at Leicester Academy illustrate also the various means for raising money to which the trustees of this and other academies, hard pressed for funds, had recourse. When it seemed necessary to move the school from Leicester, the town voted to pay fifty pounds toward the salary of the preceptor. The trustees also received from the Massachusetts legislature permission to raise money by a lottery, a method then commonly used by schools and colleges, which added \$1,200 to the academy treasury. Another and still more common method was to reserve a grant of land, usually in Maine. The legislature was again willing, and the land thus granted to Leicester Academy eventually brought to the school \$9,200, a much larger sum than was usually realized from that source. The trustees showed great devotion to their trust in this enterprise, but we must not forget that this first academy in Massachusetts for both sexes owed its inception to the energy of one man, Col. Ebenezer Crafts who, after his efforts in its behalf, became financially so embarrassed that he was obliged

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to sell his business and move to Vermont where he founded the town of Craftsbury.

By 1797 so many academies had applied for charters that the Massachusetts legislature adopted a definite policy for their encouragement. The author of the plan is said to have been Nathan Dane, the originator of the Ordinance of 1787 which forbade slavery in the Northwest Territory. Mr. Dane lived in Beverly and knew Dummer Academy. His plan and the policy adopted by the legislature provided, first, in regard to location, that the academy desiring state aid must be in a neighborhood of 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants not already supplied with such a school or college; secondly, that such an academy should first show permanent funds to the amount of \$3,000, a building and equipment; and thirdly, that grants of land should be made equally to academies from all parts of the state. A board of trustees must consist of from nine to fifteen persons, and it was early recognized that they should not all be local, a point which was to determine the history of many such schools.²

The nature of the academy, a school fostered by state aid, raises a nice question of the distinction between "free" and "private" schools. The academies were never "free" in the sense of admitting without tuition fee, except in rare cases, but they were free to all who could qualify for admission, and were never established or promoted for private gain. Moreover, since the tuition fees were never sufficient for the complete maintenance of the school, the pupils were really the recipients of public aid.

Thus far only the sinews! How much more important in the lives of those boys and girls was the character of the instruc-

² Walton, George A., Agent of the Massachusetts Board of Education, in Report of the Board, 1875-1876, vol. 40.

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tion, the fiber of the teachers, the ability to satisfy eager minds upon subjects varied enough for a college curriculum. Indeed, as has been said by Grizell:

"The academy early became the 'people's college,' and was a mighty social force during the first half century of American national development. It was in this secondary school of the transition that New England trained its youth, boys and girls, for the problems of a new and higher citizenship."³

The accompanying list of academies of Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire, founded before 1806, shows twenty-nine incorporated before Bradford Academy. The first three were for boys only; all others probably admitted girls for at least a part of the year.

Academies of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts to 1805.

FOUNDED	INC.	NAME	LOCATION	LATER HISTORY
1763	1782	Dummer	Byfield, Mass.	For boys
1778	1780	Phillips	Andover, Mass.	For boys
1781	1781	Phillips	Exeter, N. H.	For boys
1783	1784	Leicester	Leicester, Mass.	Co-ed. Acad.
1784	1784	Derby	Hingham, Mass.	Country day; co-ed.
1787	1791	Atkinson	Atkinson, N. H.	Public School
1789	1789	Appleton	New Ipswich, N. H.	Co-ed. Acad.
1789	1792	Marblehead	Marblehead, Mass.	High School
	1793	Plymouth	Plymouth, Mass.	Never opened
1790	1800	Francestown	Francestown, N. H.	Closed
1791	1791	Berwick	So. Berwick, Me.	Co-ed. Acad.
1791	1791	Hallowell	Hallowell, Me.	Closed
1792	1792	Bristol	Taunton, Mass.	Closed
1792	1792	Washington	Machias, Me.	Co-ed. Acad.
1792	1792	Fryeburg	Fryeburg, Me.	Co-ed. Acad.
1793	1793	Westford	Westford, Mass.	Public School
1793	1793	Lawrence	Groton, Mass.	For boys since 1898

³ Grizell, E. D., *Origin and Development of the High School in New England before 1865*. Macmillan, 1923.

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1793	1793	Westfield	Westfield, Mass.	High School
1794	1794	Portland	Portland, Me.	Closed
1794	1794	Gilmanton	Gilmanton, N. H.	Public School
1794	1794	Haverhill	Haverhill, N. H.	Combined with High School
1797	1797	New Salem	New Salem, Mass.	Co-ed. Acad.
1797	1797	Deerfield	Deerfield, Mass.	For boys
1797	1798	Milton	Milton, Mass.	Separate schools for boys and girls
1799	1799	Framingham	Framingham, Mass.	High School
1799	1799	Bridgewater	Bridgewater, Mass.	Closed
1799	1801	Franklin	No. Andover, Mass.	Closed
1801	1801	Coffin School	Nantucket, Mass.	Manual Tr. School
1801	1801	Lincoln	Newcastle, Me.	Co-ed. Acad.
1803	1804	Bradford	Bradford, Mass.	For girls
1803	1803	Berkshire	Lenox, Mass.	High School
1803	1803	Blue Hill	Blue Hill, Me.	Blue Hill — Geo. Stevens Academy
1803	1803	Gorham	Gorham, Me.	Closed
1803	1803	Hampden	Hampden, Me.	Co-ed. Acad.
1804	1804	Hebron	Hebron, Me.	For boys since 1922
1804	1804	Monson	Monson, Mass.	For boys since 1926
1805	1805	Bath	Bath, Me.	High School

Really to understand the beginnings of our own academy, to see it as a part of a very general educational movement, fast passing beyond the experimental stage, we should know something of at least two similar and nearby schools with which the founders of Bradford Academy were well acquainted. One of these, Atkinson Academy of Atkinson, N. H., about five miles north of Bradford, is still in existence. The other, Franklin Academy at North Andover, seven miles south, has disappeared so completely that the only sign of its history is the name of Academy Road on which it once stood.

In Atkinson there was no rich man, as there had been in Leicester, to initiate an academy by putting down a handsome sum of money. The method was the far more common one of

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getting expressions of interest from a group of far-sighted men usually led by the minister, and then doing the impossible — raising funds by small subscriptions from people of scanty means. Here the good cause had no common leader, Parson Stephen Peabody, for forty years the ruling spirit of the town as well as the first pastor of the Atkinson church. He was a classical scholar and an ardent preacher; he was also a successful farmer, raising cattle and horses and making a specialty of his white clover honey. On a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars a year plus ten cords of wood, he must educate his children, keep his house open with abundant hospitality, and help every effort for the public good. He was a tall, fine looking, dark man, with curling bushy hair, always wearing a three-cornered beaver hat, a large single-breasted coat, long vest, and knee and shoe buckles. He played the violin and sang, often aiding the church service by leading the singing. When he and his wife entered the church all the congregation rose, and at the end of the service the people stood respectfully while they passed out. His first wife was Polly Hasseltine, sister of John Hasseltine of Bradford, and his second wife was the Widow Shaw of Haverhill, sister of Mrs. John Adams, of whom we have already heard as inviting her niece, Elizabeth Palmer, to share her interesting home and to pick up a remarkable education in that cultured family. This second Mrs. Peabody was a great addition to the parish, no less for her zeal for education than for her fine homespun flannel and for her skill in making coats for the neighbors.

The vigorous parson was ably supported in his desire for a school by Gen. Nathaniel Peabody and Dr. William Cogswell. The records of their proceedings are lost, but we know that they got enough money and labor to build, on land given by Dr. Cogswell, a one-story schoolhouse which was finished in

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1787. The first term did not begin, however, till April 1, 1789, when the first preceptor, Moses Leavitt Neal, opened the school with a group of boys only, although the intention of the founders was to admit girls as well.

Presumably the long summer term passed off with no more misadventures than are likely to happen under such new conditions, and the time came for the public exhibition on October 14. Parson Peabody's journal, quoted in Cogswell's Centennial address in 1887, describes the scene:

"The procession formed; the pupils in front, then the Preceptor, Assistant and Trustees and other gentlemen. The scholars on each side opened and we went in and took the elder pew, and the pulpit. Stephen, [the parson's son?] began with a Latin oration and spoke it very well. Then followed a number of diverting scenes with singing until it grew dark. Adjourned for three quarters of an hour. Our house was thronged; we ate, drank, and returned; spent the evening in diversions. Some pieces were improperly introduced, and gave umbrage. The General did not attend, he was incensed at Neal."

This evidence of bad judgment ended Neal's teaching at the academy, but as we shall see at Bradford, it was not customary for a young man who wished to get a little money by teaching a term, to stay longer in one place. Among the guests at the exhibition that day was Parson Allen of Bradford, soon to be active in founding the academy in his own parish. On this occasion he seems to have learned how some things should not be done, for he complained that the "exhibition was profane and obscene," and the town was excited.

Meantime the discussion was hot as to whether girls should attend the academy. Public sentiment was not in favor of this innovation, partly because the prestige of Dummer and the

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two Phillips Academies had set a different pattern for this new form of school. During the spring of 1787 a Mrs. Colby taught school for both sexes in Parson Peabody's house, "because the academy was not ready," but she kept on after the academy opened. One can imagine that the arguments were as heated as in those later days when women were first claiming the privilege of entrance to the state universities. The learned Joseph B. Felt, in an address at Atkinson in 1859, implied that those favoring "female education" doubtless quoted Plutarch to the effect that "The excellence of women does not consist in elegance of dress but in well-educated minds," and that others probably cited Cornelia and Aurelia to prove that some degree of education was not wasted on woman. Be that as it may, the tradition is that Polly Peabody settled the question by announcing that *she* was going to the academy. Parson Peabody, no less practical than learned, surely needed no more proof of woman's ability than his own wife, daughter, and niece. It was in 1791 that the first girls — Polly Peabody, Elizabeth Knight, Lucy Poor, and Harriet Atwood — entered the academy, the first of a long procession of girls.

At about the same time, the charter was granted by the New Hampshire legislature and the permanence of the school seemed secured. Then came disaster. The little building was burned one cold night, and all was to be done again! But an incorporated academy was not to be sacrificed, so small funds were again raised and a new location was decided upon. It is again the parson's journal which describes the raising of the frame of the larger, two-story building:

"Got through about sundown. There was no material hurt done; matter of rejoicing. They gave three cheers. I thanked the people in the name of the trustees for their assistance and told them to call on the people for entertainment."

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This last item can be explained by "Cash paid Moses Atwood for rum \$50.73." The cost of the new building, over \$2,500, gave the trustees a heavy debt. To raise this, what method was so easy as the lottery? Permission was granted by the New Hampshire legislature, but a request to sell tickets in Massachusetts was refused by that state. The next plan was to get a land grant. Here again the legislature was kind, for there was plenty of unclaimed land in New Hampshire. So a grant of half a township in Coos county was made which sounded liberal indeed. But nobody dreamed in those days of building summer hotels among inaccessible mountain valleys. Who was to suppose, even, that future presidents were to be honored in the Presidential Range?

So nothing was realized for Atkinson Academy from the sale of that land, and the debt hung on. Somebody must carry it, and of course that some one was the parson, who took upon himself seven-eighths of the amount, and the young preceptor shouldered the remainder. It is to be hoped that the good minister did not have to carry that full responsibility, secretary and treasurer though he was, till the end of his long and useful life.

A bit of friendly comment on Atkinson Academy has survived in the diary of the Reverend William Bentley of Salem. In July, 1805, Mr. Bentley was invited by Maj. Joseph Sprague of Salem to ride to Haverhill in his chaise, an excellent opportunity to meet some delightful Haverhill people and to see the Merrimack Valley. After much sociability in Haverhill, Bentley records:⁴

"I went with Major Sprague to the White Farm, three and one half miles from Haverhill, the house standing in Atkinson. Before dinner we went to see the Academy. Mr. Peabody re-

⁴ *Diary of Wm. Bentley*, vol. 3, p. 174.

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ceived us kindly . . . We found sixty youth, about an equal number of males and females, and in good order. The building is in a most elevated situation and well accommodated. It is in a plain but lofty style, and is surmounted by a belfry. . . . The school of the Academy is in a spacious room, and the females are on one side and the males on the other.”

It is possible that one of those males on the other side of the room was Benjamin Greenleaf of Haverhill, who came to Atkinson in the summer or fall of that year to begin his preparation for Dartmouth College.

The friendship between Parson Peabody and Parson Allen and many other early associations drew Atkinson and Bradford together, and the name of Cogswell was prominent in both towns and both academies. Of that we shall have ample proof when George Cogswell appears among the trustees of Bradford Academy.

Of the other neighboring school, Franklin Academy in North Andover, the account is unfortunately of the briefest, for, as has been said, no records, no catalogues, no buildings remain—only the reminiscences of former students which form the basis of the sketch in *Historical Sketches of Andover* by Sarah Loring Bailey. There we learn that the establishment of Phillips Academy in the South Parish made it impossible to keep up a Latin Grammar School in the North Parish, so a few citizens exerted themselves to found a school which would meet the needs not only of boys but of girls too. Mr. Jonathan Stevens gave land on the hill north of the meetinghouse and a building was put up in 1799. It contained two rooms of equal size, “the north room for the male department and the south for the female department.” The first preceptor was Nathaniel Peabody, and the first preceptress the Elizabeth Palmer who won notice by her poems in the Haverhill pa-

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per and who, in due time, married the preceptor and became the mother of Elizabeth Peabody, of Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne and of Mrs. Horace Mann.

The school, first incorporated in 1801 as the North Parish Free School, and again in 1805 as the Franklin Academy, was thus exceedingly fortunate in its first teachers. Another, and more remarkable instructor was Cyrus Peirce, who came for a few years in about 1826. This was the man who made such a reputation as a teacher in Nantucket that when Horace Mann was looking for one who could be trusted with the care of the first Normal School in the United States he chose Peirce and made no mistake in so doing.⁵ In about 1827 the academy was merged with a private school, the master of which, locally known for his rough discipline and teaching of the classics, was Simeon Putnam, inevitably "Old Put." Of the female department we know even less, but it is interesting to note that the last preceptress of Franklin Academy of whom there is any record was Lucy Jane Hamlin who had been a student at Bradford Academy in 1830. It is evident that it was not for lack of good instruction that the school lost its identity. It was rather the proximity of two such schools as Phillips Academy and, after 1829, Abbot Academy in the neighboring parish which made competition impossible.

That the academy building on the North Parish Meeting House Hill was known to Bradford people is shown by the fact that they used it as a model for their own Academy in 1803. It is that adventure which now claims our attention.

⁵ Norton, A. O., *The First Normal School in America*. Harvard University Press, 1926.

CHAPTER IV

HOW BRADFORD ACADEMY BEGAN

1802-1803

THE Bradford school question was practically solved at a social gathering early in December, 1802, at the home of Daniel Kimball, a big house on the cross road between the Boxford Road and Salem Street, which was a landmark in Bradford till 1909. A towering elm, overspreading the house on the east, dwarfed its fine proportions, but did not hide the view of the fields and pastures which still slope to Chadwick's Pond (then called Little Pond). The builder of that house chose a site which allowed his front windows both the southern sunshine and the view. One may still get the same unobstructed outlook from the smaller house built on that site after the Kimball house was burned.

We do not know who were there that winter day, but it is easy to surmise that the Joseph Chadwicks, nearest neighbors of the Kimballs, tramped through the snow to meet their friends, for Colonel Chadwick had four daughters, and what is more to the point, really wanted to educate them. In that kind of informal meeting the women and girls would also have something to say. Maj. James Kimball's six children made a sufficient motive for his part in the discussion. Did he come on horseback from the village with his wife or one of the girls on a pillion?

So vividly has this friendly party been portrayed in the opening scene of our One Hundred Twenty-fifth Anniversary Play, *The Beginnings of Bradford*,¹ that one may well accept Miss Thayer's picture of the enthusiasm, the potential en-

¹ *The Beginnings of Bradford*, a Play by Maud Palmer Thayer, 1928.

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ergy, and the resources of that group as being true to history. All felt that a need which forced some of the girls from those families to leave home to find schooling called for immediate action.²

Very likely a subscription paper was planned or even started at that December gathering, but it took weeks to sound other opinions and find out who could be counted upon. By the fourth of March the following paper was completed:

"First subscription paper for Erecting a Building dated March 4th A.D. 1803; In the words following; viz.; Considering the Education of youth as the basis of forming the mind for usefulness both in Religious and Political Society, We wish to make every Exertion to place the Institution for obtaining knowledge in such a situation that it may be obtained in the most Cheap and reputable manner possible. Conceiving the several advantages the Inhabitants of this Parish would derive by having an Acadamy Established herein to be very Considerable, We whose names are hereunto subscribed do mutually agree to erect a Building for that purpose as near as may be convenient to the School house near the Revd. Mr. Allen's on the following general conditions; viz.: The Expenses of said house and other incidental charges for land, &., Estimated from \$1000 to \$2000, To be divided into as many shares as the Proprietors may agree upon.

"Any and all persons that wish to Establish Seminarys for the promotion of useful knowledge to posterity are requested to Subscribe their names with the number of shares they will take, and meet at the House of Moses Kimball Innholder in

² A letter from Mrs. George Davis (Abby Gage) to H. E. Chadwick in 1903 furnishes the only written record of this meeting. She said that in 1849 or 1850 Miss Abigail Hasseltine had charged her to remember that Bradford Academy was started at the house of her great-grandfather, Daniel Kimball, under the circumstances mentioned above.

B R A D F O R D

Bradford on Monday the seventh day of March Instant at three of the clock, P.M. For the purpose of adopting such regulations as they may think expedient to carry said Institution into effect."

Edward Kimball	4	Benj. Carlton	1	Jonathan Chadwick	2
Benj. Walker	2	Isaac West	1	Eliphalet Kimball	1
Moses Kimball	2	Edmund Kimball	2	Nath. Thurston	2
John Peabody	2	James Kimball	2	Isaac Buswell	1
Moses Webster	1	Samuel Webster	2	Joseph Chadwick	4
Jonathan Allen	2	John Griffin	1	Ebenr. Carlton*	1
Samuel Chadwick*	2	Daniel Carlton	1	William Tenney	1
John Hasseltine	2	Daniel Kimball	1	Moses Hall	1
Ezra Trask	1	Peter Gage	1	Uriah Gage	1
John Smiley	1	Asa Gage	2	Jeremiah Gage	1

N. B. Those with this mark (*) have failed and refused to assist in the Laudable Institution.

Genealogies, town and church records, the tombstones in the old burying grounds and family traditions only partly satisfy our curiosity as to what manner of men the thirty Bradford citizens were who so generously pledged their support of the project. That Parson Allen was one of the prime movers may be safely assumed, and his opinions carried even greater weight than those of the traditionally influential ministers of his day, because of his participation in all the interests of his parish. He used to tell his people that if they would spend as much money on education as they did at the taprooms in the taverns their school troubles would be solved.

Of a very different type was Squire Nathaniel Thurston. His father, Col. Daniel Thurston, had been prominent in town affairs and an early Massachusetts State Senator; an uncle, Rev. Benjamin Thurston, was a well-known minister. The squire's valuable farm of two hundred acres and two dwelling houses was on the post road to Salem (near the old cemetery). It overlooked the Merrimack and included the twenty-acre is-

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land (Silsby's Island). When it was offered for sale in the *Merrimack Intelligencer*, April 28, 1810, the advertisement bore the following caption:

"A rare chance for a Gentleman of Capital, who prefers the sweet air of the country to the noxious vapours of the populous town, or to a farmer who inclines to exceed his neighbor in production."

For a dozen years or more Squire Thurston was more frequently moderator of the town meeting than any one else, and he repeatedly represented Bradford in the General Court. Part of his interest in the Academy was, no doubt, due to the fact that he had two sons, Nathaniel and Daniel, of school age. It is not, however, for all his public service, nor even for his able support of the new Academy, that he has a strange immortality in Bradford today. In the old burying ground close to the site of the first two meetinghouses is a row of seven large tombstones, Nathaniel Thurston and his six wives. The names of these ladies do not tell us much, but the dates and their former homes make a story.

Betsey Webster of Bradford died 1790.

Martha Bridges of Andover died May 12, 1799.

Hulda Perkins of Portsmouth, N. H., died September 18, 1801.

Clarissa Tucker of Newburyport died November 14, 1803.

Martha Lovejoy of Andover died July 27, 1804.

Mary Chadwick of Rindge died March 30, 1808.

So it seems that the Squire, after his first marriage, went elsewhere for his quarry, and it is interesting to note that none of these names are found on the lists of Academy students. The most amazing item in this lugubrious history is the close proximity of the deaths of Number 4 and Number 5. But there is a sequel. His last wife, Number 7, was Frances Fletcher



MOSES HALL AND HIS WIFE, 1803

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of Boston, who after the death of Nathaniel in Lansingburg, N. Y., in 1811, "married an ex-governor of Massachusetts and went south to live."³

Of course the number of these matrimonial adventures had to be accounted for in some way, hence arose the myth of the jealous housekeeper whose reputed skill in disposing of successive mistresses is worthy of an ancient Scottish ballad. Since the warm-hearted squire was not of the type to say, "I gave commands and all smiles stopped," the housekeeper tale was as good an explanation as any. It is too bad to spoil the story, but it seems improbable that the thrifty squire should employ a housekeeper at all. What were wives for? Besides, nobody in that day analyzed the well water or the milk.

Families in the west end of the town also showed an immediate interest in the plan for the new school. Asa Gage, who took his share of town duties as selectman and school committee, was anxious for a better school for his children than the little west schoolhouse afforded. His son Nathaniel was one of the early students.

Moses Hall and his wife Betsey, whom we see in the silhouettes,⁴ lived on a farm on the old "Skunk Hill Road" toward Ward Hill. Mr. Hall, a deacon for many years in the West Parish Church, was known for his punctilious honesty, which is illustrated by a story handed down in his family. Having been to see his sister "on the Mash" (the marsh beyond Newbury) he told her he must leave early to get home in time to do the milking. When he got home, however, he found the cows had been milked. His unintentional fib so disturbed the good man that the next time he went eastward he drove three miles out of his way to tell his sister the truth.

³ Thurston Genealogy.

⁴ Owned by Miss Anna M. Pearl, Bradford.

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Of the numerous Chadwicks, we have mentioned Colonel Joseph, whose big house was near Daniel Kimball's. He was not only to send his girls to the "female apartment" of the Academy, but he was to furnish a janitor as well. Joel, a one-time slave, is said to have kept his manumission papers for private exhibition. He would have been automatically freed in 1783 by the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, if his master had not already liberated him. Joel and his wife, of alleged occult powers, grew old in the service of the Academy, and were known in their little hut on "Joel Road" by many Bradford girls.

Jonathan Chadwick, who not only took two shares in the Academy but also did the same in the sustaining fund, must have been somewhat better off than some of the donors, for the next year he gave eleven hundred and twenty-five dollars to the church in a fund which was incorporated in 1804.

John Hasseltine, whose house contained the room for "frolics and dancings," was one of the most active men in Bradford. His integrity and ability in all practical matters can be judged by the frequency with which his name recurs among the seventeen varieties of elected offices in the town. If he were not selectman he was surveyor of highways, or fence viewer, or surveyor of timber. Without much education himself he was ambitious for his six children. It was not till after a great revival in 1806 that he became a member of the church and deacon — a "cold water deacon" — and gave his executive ability to the church as well as to the town. Did he dream that his interest in the Academy was creating the opportunity for his daughter Abigail to do infinitely more for the education of women than he could do himself? Could he have guessed in 1803 that his laughing daughter Nancy, not yet fourteen years old, would be known on three continents as the heroic

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missionary to Burmah? The mother of that family was one of those miracles of New England home makers who accomplished incredible things while a victim of some obscure ill health. Her influence on her daughters we shall see later on, but for the present it is much to the point that she was herself a very well-read woman and with even greater intelligence than her husband, must have pushed her quiet, far-reaching influence in favor of the projected academy.

To give an account of the Kimballs of this period is almost to relate the history of the town and of the Academy. It was not exactly the period when it was said that every man in Bradford was named Kimball except one, and he was named Kimball Farrar, but it is significant that there were six of them among the original thirty signers, and four of those also made pledges for the sustaining fund, notably Lieutenant Edward who took four shares on each paper. Like Colonel James he was to send six children to the school he was promoting, one of whom, Richard, entered at the age of fourteen, and eight years later himself became preceptor.

The paper which had been in circulation called for a meeting on Monday, March seventh, at the house of Moses Kimball, "Innholder," so a word about the proprietor is in order. He had more interests than those of the tavern, for he owned lands in Dracut, Newbury, Methuen, and Bradford. Perhaps he was impelled to add schooling to his cares by the future of his two-year-old daughter Sarah. His two shares made a good investment, for Sarah was an assistant teacher in the Academy for thirteen years. And the new baby Jacob, not yet a week old when the "proprietors" met at the inn — would he not have to go to school some day?

If we step into the old house today and enter the room on the right we can imagine the group of serious men at their

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discussion. The burning logs in the great fireplace made them lay off their mud-spattered homespun coats. Their spirits were no doubt enlivened from the bar in the little room just beyond. Perhaps it was too late to insert a clause in the warrant for the town meeting due this very next Thursday. But even if there had been time for that, their experience with town appropriations was reason enough for not expecting aid from that quarter. The selectmen would need \$1500 "for town charges" and \$1000 for highways, so new obligations would not be considered. It was really better so, for a grant from the town, as in the case of Gilmanton Academy, N. H., would inevitably mean town supervision.

With Nathaniel Thurston as moderator and Samuel Webster as clerk, they wasted no time in denouncing ineffectual town meetings. Being free to plan, they acted with a swiftness that would amaze a similar group of propagandists today. Having in hand pledges amounting to \$1280 for a building, they struck again while enthusiasm was hot, and drew up another paper for subscriptions for a sustaining fund. The result was \$1500, not paid in, but the interest of which, \$90 a year, was pledged for the support of the school. The old record book shows that the fifteen men who signed this second paper had all pledged generously on the first one, except one, the new name being Richard Walker. For a century and a quarter these records in the handwriting of Samuel Webster have borne a silent testimony of economy in ink and paper and of painstaking procedure which do honor to the clerk and the "proprietors." Eccentricities of spelling and redundant phrasing show clearly the need of a school.

Still more business was done that eventful March seventh. They appointed a committee to circulate subscription papers and another "to build a House for an Acadamy as near the

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dimensions of the Academy in the North Parish in Andover as the committee may think convenient, excepting to be one foot higher post." The location is to be "near the Revd. Mr. Allen's." Another committee was impowered "to purchase or not to purchase Samuel Dearborn's house." "Voted to underpin the Buildings with Bricks."

This preference for the Franklin Academy plan decided in the negative the question of whether boys and girls should occupy the same schoolroom. This was an important decision, when many academies were being built with a common schoolroom for boys and girls. To us, looking backward, it is evident that the segregation made possible the development of an independent school for girls. In Atkinson Academy, as we have seen through the eyes of the Reverend William Bentley, the boys and girls were in one room. There were, no doubt, many advantages in that plan. In Marblehead Academy, where the system was co-educational, Joseph Story, afterwards a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was a schoolboy in about 1795. In his autobiography occurs this passage:

"It was not necessary to separate the sexes in their studies. Generally we studied the same books and recited our lessons in the presence of each other. . . . I was early struck with the flexibility, activity, and power of the female mind. Girls of the same age were . . . quite our equal in their studies and acquirements, and had much greater quickness of perception and delicacy of feeling than the boys."

Considerations more practical than the relative merits of male and female minds prevailed at Bradford. The "male apartment" would have both summer and winter sessions, but it was assumed that the "female apartment" would be open only in the summer terms, therefore a smaller room would be sufficient in the winter.

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Having chosen Col. Edward Kimball as "Treasury" and John Hasseltine as collector, the proprietors adjourned this first meeting till April 26. On that day it was further decided that in the work on the building "the average price of oxen was .98 per day, and teamsters and common laborers .75." Furthermore, to have a real Academy without a cupola and bell was unthinkable. The question of a "steeple" had to be debated, for it was not in the Franklin Academy plan, and called for a protruding entry on which the steeple could be placed. In May they were so sure of pupils from other towns that they set the price of board in private families at "7/6."

On May 27, 1803, in the *Haverhill Observer* appeared the first advertisement of Bradford Academy.

BRADFORD ACADEMY

A new Academy is erected in Bradford, half a mile from Haverhill Bridge, under the care of the best Instructors; and will be opened on Wednesday the first day of June, which contains two apartments, one for Males, the other for Females. In the Male apartment will be taught the English, Latin and Greek languages; Reading, Writing, Geography, Arithmetic, and all other necessary branches of School Education. In the Female, will be taught Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Embroidery, and all other forms of Needlework together with drawing and Painting. The tuition will be placed on so low terms as barely to defray the necessary expenses with the help of the interest of a considerable Fund appropriated for the purpose. Boarding will also be very low, and every attention will be paid to form the minds of youth to virtuous and religious habits and secure them from every kind of immorality. Such as are disposed to commit their children to

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their care may depend upon their punctuality, and every favor will be acknowledged.

It is time to see what sort of building had been wished into existence between the seventh of March and the first of June. The exterior we know only from a lithograph made in 1841 after the second building had been erected on the site of the first, which had been moved back. The interior was carefully described by Mrs. Betsey Greenleaf Kendall whose memory was as reliable as one of her father's arithmetics. From this description the accompanying ground plan has been constructed.

In that vacant lot near Mr. Hasseltine's house, by the Boxford Road,⁵ the proprietors had put up a broad, low building not more than twenty feet from the main road. The tower or "steeple" was two stories in height and was surmounted by a circular belfry, but the building itself was one story only. The narrow hall between the two departments was furnished with hooks on each side of the chimney, for hats and coats, and each hook had a number corresponding with a desk. The door into the boys' room was near the entry, while that of the girls' room was at the other end of the passageway. The desks in both rooms were clumsy things, having hard plank seats which formed the lid of a box underneath. Here the scholars who came from a distance kept their lunch boxes till the noon hour. Franklin stoves were luxuries, so we may be sure that none was installed till winter demanded it, and then how the big log fire scorched the front row of boys and left the back seats freezing! The front rows of desks or the space between the desks and stove served as place for reciting lessons "in every branch of useful knowledge."

⁵ The site upon which Mr. Louis H. Hamel built his house, 1928-9.

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Before the Academy opened its doors the proprietors had adopted rules and regulations drawn up by a committee composed of Rev. Mr. Allen, Samuel Webster, and Dr. Benjamin Walker.

The first four articles of chapter one of these by-laws are as follows:

ART. 1. The immediate care of the instruction of this institution shall be committed to a preceptor and preceptress appointed by the proprietors of the institution.

ART. 2. The instruction in the female department may be suspended whenever the proprietors judge necessary.

ART. 3. No person shall be appointed preceptor of this academy who has not received public education, who does not sustain good moral character and reputed a gentleman of good abilities.

ART. 4. No young lady shall sustain the office of preceptress who is not a reputable person, well versed in the Science of Belle Lettres, embroidery and all forms of fine needle work.

Then follow instructions about discipline.

In chapter 2 the tuition fees are announced.

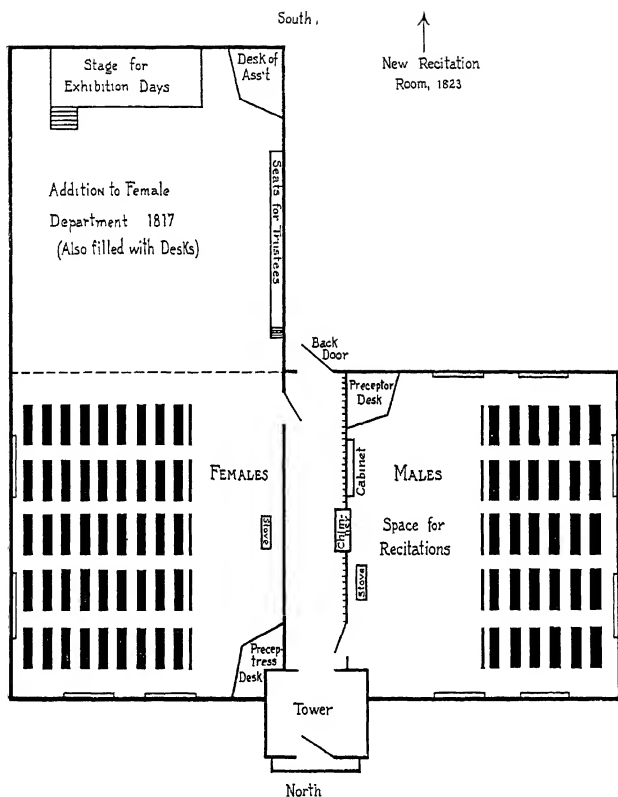
Each young master in this academy shall pay into the treasury for tuition \$.20 per week and if in the study of navigation \$.30 per week in addition. Each female which embroiders, draws, or paints shall pay \$.25 per week, those females which do not embroider, draw or paint shall pay \$.20.

Chapter 3 regulates much of the daily life.

ART. 2. All the members of this academy shall assemble morning and evening in one of the apartments to attend prayer and the reading of the sacred scriptures.

Probably because the girls always outnumbered the boys in the summer term the boys came into the girls' room for this morning and afternoon religious exercise.

ART. 3. There shall be two monitors appointed in each Apartment, one to note all who are absent or tardy morning and evening, another to note all idleness and whispering in the presence and absence of the instructors, who shall inquire into the cause of all delinquencies, and excuse in case of sickness or other necessary detention and punish when necessary.



GROUND PLAN OF FIRST BUILDING, 1803-1841

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ART. 4. It shall be the duty of the students to attend public worship both on the Sabbath and lecture days, Refrain from all noise and walking the streets or fields on the Sabbath except in going to and returning from meeting and the monitors shall note all absentees on the Sabbath.

ART. 5. No student shall behave indecently on the Sabbath, either at their boarding house or going to or from meeting, or in the meeting house on penalty of public admonition.

ART. 6. No student shall in going to and from the Academy cast stones into the adjacent fields, injure any persons property, or take fruit from any orchard without liberty on penalty of public admonition.

ART. 7. The students shall respectively notice the proprietors of the institution, their instructors, and other gentlemen of character when they pass them on the street.

ART. 15. The students shall return to their lodgings precisely at nine o'clock in the evening, and on Saturday evening they shall not be absent.

CHAPTER IV, ART. 2. The exercises the first term shall begin at eight o'clock in the morning and continue until twelve and begin in the afternoon at two and continue until six in the evening.

ART. 3. The examinations shall be the last day of each term.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST TWO TERMS, 1803

JUNE 1 TO AUGUST 23; AUGUST 27 TO NOVEMBER 18

FOR their first preceptor the proprietors secured Samuel Walker, a Haverhill young man of twenty-four, who had fitted for college at Exeter and graduated at Dartmouth the year before he came to Bradford. Like many other ambitious young men he needed the teacher's salary in order to go on with his study for the ministry. When we learn that he received for each of the two terms the sum of eighty dollars and his board, we are disposed to amend the saying of the eighteenth-century English traveller, "Fish and ministers are the cheapest thing in New England," and add teachers to the list. But the salary was considered sufficient; indeed, the tuition fees very nearly covered it, and that of the preceptress as well. And what of the eighteen-year-old Hannah Swan, the first of the long line to preside over and to teach Bradford girls? She was a Charlestown girl, and had, perhaps, been educated in "the science of belles lettres and fine needlework" in a private school in Charlestown or Boston. We know that after her two terms at Bradford she taught in one of the private schools in Medford and later had a school of her own in Boston. For her services in Bradford she received three dollars a week and her board. Let us hope that she lived in one of the generous, friendly families in the village.

Just at the time the school opened in June, the town ordered the selectmen to "straighten, widen, and improve the road on the land of Samuel Chadwick, and to move the fence and remove incumbrances, beginning opposite Revd. Mr. Allen's house and leading to the Boxford road." This improved the

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property of the Academy and the travelling also, and is a sign of appreciation of the Academy on the part of the town fathers.

When Mr. Walker took his place at the desk in the corner of the "male apartment" he found fourteen boys in his room, while across the narrow hall were thirty-seven girls looking eagerly up to their young preceptress. No hesitation in Bradford as to whether girls should attend the Academy! So it was throughout the years, till the boys' department was discontinued; the girls were always in the majority in the summer terms; moreover, during the winter, when their department was closed, increasing numbers of them braved the rigors of the season, and the supposedly sterner atmosphere of the preceptor's room to keep up their studies with the boys.

Thanks to the Semicentennial Catalogue compiled by the late Addison Brown, we have the names of the boys and girls who entered the new school at the beginning. Those of the first two terms are listed together, so that we cannot tell which entered in June and which in August, but of some who were surely on hand that first day of June we may be certain; Betsey Allen, the parson's daughter; Ann Bartlett, the first of eleven children of Bailey Bartlett of Haverhill; Col. James Kimball's two girls, Zelenda (two years' older than Miss Swan), and Lydia; five children of John Hasseltine, Mary, Rebecca, and Abigail, and the two boys, John and Joseph; Edward Kimball's boy Richard of fourteen who, in eight years' time, became the preceptor of the same school; and other representatives of the well-known names of Bradford. Yet the surprising thing about the list of students is that while eight of the boys who came in those first two terms were from Bradford, and four from Haverhill, seventeen came from other towns, some as distant as Portland and Wiscasset in Maine, and Haverhill, N. H., as well as a number from Newburyport, Boxford, Ips-

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wich, Methuen, etc. These found boarding places in the village.

If we ask what these boys and girls studied and recited during their eight hours in the schoolroom, several facts must be considered in constructing the answer; first, the great scarcity of textbooks; second, those used elsewhere in New England; thirdly, the time necessarily wasted by most of the pupils when one class was reciting in the same room, and finally, the absolute lack of the most rudimentary equipment, such as blackboards and maps, and an adequate supply of paper, ink and pens. An hourglass did duty for a clock. For English Grammar the copy of Bingham's *The Young Lady's Accidence* owned by Mary Davis in 1806¹ bears testimony of use, but although "designed primarily for the fair sex it was proper for either"; one may infer that a schoolmaster would prefer for his boys the book most used before Murray became the universal grammarian, namely, a *New Guide to the English Tongue*, by Thomas Dilworth, Schoolmaster, an English work, but published in Philadelphia as early as 1800. This textbook was a combination of Reader, Grammar, Rhetoric and Morals. One illustration will suffice. Words of three letters are being learned, hence this verse to be written and memorized:

No Man may put off the Law of God.

The Way of God is no ill Way.

My Joy is in God all the Day.

A Bad Man is a Foe of God.

One would expect Webster's *Spelling Book* to be used at Bradford as elsewhere, and it probably was, but a copy of *An American Spelling Book*, compiled by Asa Rhoads, second edition 1802, bears the name of Mary Lamb, 1805. It is, literally and figuratively, a drab little book, full of dull rules, tables, and maxims to be memorized. Many pages of lists look

¹ See illustration facing p. 24.

1. Poverty.

In seeking virtue, if you find poverty,
be not alarmed, the fault is not yours.
Your honour or dishonour is purchased
by your own actions; though virtue gives
a ragged livery, she gives a golden
cognizance. If her service make you
poor, blush not; your poverty may
prove disadvantageous to you, but cannot
dishonour you. Christina Perseus.

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like the nonsense syllables now used for memory experiments in a psychology laboratory.

The study of arithmetic had not yet assumed its nineteenth-century importance, nor was it yet required for entrance to Harvard College. It was probably taught at Bradford in 1803, but few, if any, textbooks were used by the pupils. As late as 1811 Lucretia Kimball made her own manuscript books which are in the possession of Bradford Academy.² The master doubtless had a copy of the first American Arithmetic written by Nicholas Pike of Newburyport, which, he said, "was more suitable to our Meridian and recommended by George Washington." It is described by W. H. Small as "a ponderous volume of some five hundred and twelve pages abounding in rules and arithmetical puzzles . . . the gem puzzle of its generation, the forbear of all the divine essence of arithmetic in which our fathers and forefathers reveled" — a fitting forerunner of Greenleaf's *National*.

The mathematical principles of surveying and navigation were taught in connection with arithmetic, and problems were worked out in the pupil's manuscript notebook. The boys gained some valuable practice in this way which some of them used on board brigs and schooners sailing from Haverhill to the West Indies.

Almost the only available textbook in geography, which was studied as a reading lesson, was written by Jedidiah Morse, a minister in Charlestown, Mass., who took seriously the ignorance of most people about the world around them. His *Geography Made Easy* (Boston, 1796), he dedicated "To the Young Masters and Misses Throughout the United States" in the hope that while "they are learning to read they may imbibe an acquaintance with their country and an attach-

² See illustration facing p. 74.

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ment to its interests." Here is something they learned about New England:

"New England is a fine grazing country ; the vallies between the hills are generally intersected with brooks of water. . . . The high ground is, in many parts covered with clover, and generally affords the finest pasture. It will not be a matter of wonder, therefore, that New England boasts of raising some of the finest cattle in the world. Two months of the hottest season in the year, the farmers are employed in procuring food for their cattle; and the cold winter is spent in dealing it out to them."

The Geography also contains some contemporary history:

"A most interesting and important revolution in favour of liberty has been accomplished in France since 1789, in which have been sacrificed millions of lives, and is not yet completed."

The older boys certainly, and the girls possibly, became acquainted with Bingham's *Columbian Orator* or his *American Preceptor*. These books contain "a Variety of Original and Selected Pieces, Together with Rules calculated to Improve Youth and Others in the Ornamental and Useful Art of Eloquence." The selections are delightfully varied and many of them up to date, such as Buonaparte's speeches to his soldiers, and Washington's addresses. Some humor is admitted in a skit in which Schoolmaster Ignoramus is hired by the School Committee in spite of the parson's protest.

The teaching of writing was so important that a special master was usually employed. His art is seen not only in the ordinary copy book but in the manuscript compositions and arithmetic books. Penmanship was a medium for both aesthetics and ethics! Lilley Eaton, a boy from South Reading (now Wakefield) whose compositions written in Bradford in 1818 have been preserved, diligently copied in a beautiful

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clear hand several verses in praise of penmanship:

The pen, an instrument tho small
Is of great use and benefit to all;
Trust rather to your fingers' ends
Than to the promises of friends.

and another:

Hail, lovely art whose beauties shine
And grace the penman's every line;
Be thou the pride of every youth,
Attached to virtue and to truth.

When even the best has been said about penmanship, who of us is not more interested in "fine needle work and embroidery" which Mistress Swan and her successors taught in Bradford? Many examples of the allied arts of embroidery and painting have been preserved, some crude in drawing to be sure, but wonderfully clever in execution. Samplers, fine muslin embroidery and lace making were taught at Bradford for many years. The exquisite black lace veil,³ fifty-two inches long and forty-two inches wide, made in 1818 by Eliza Peabody, of Bradford, the pattern of which is here reproduced, is in perfect preservation today.

Probably Master Walker and Mistress Swan read the *Haverhill Observer* in which were printed occasionally through the summer and fall of 1803 articles bitterly denouncing the purchase of Louisiana. Could they possibly realize what history was in the making in spite of such dismal prophecies as this anti-Jefferson view?

"It appears that the vast wilderness, the possession whereof by the United States is contemplated, will cost much in the purchase, something in its defense, and much in its settlement; and a great many years will pass away before it will, in any measure, compensate for these national outsets."

³ Owned by the Misses Eleanor and Grace Kimball.

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"Fifteen millions for a wilderness, when we need schools, roads, ships, and a postal system!" was their cry, and who can blame them?

Twelve weeks through the hot summer months, a few days' vacation the last of August, and the second term opened with still more boys and girls for a session that lasted till November 18. Then, according to a universal custom, came the public examinations. We are indebted once more to the *Haverhill Observer*, November 29, 1803, for a flattering account of that occasion:

"BRADFORD ACADEMY. On Friday the 18th inst. the quarterly examinations was attended by a number of gentlemen and ladies from the adjacent towns, when specimens of improvement were exhibited far beyond the expectations of the spectators. In Mr. Walker's apartment the progress of the young gentlemen in the different languages, English grammar, geography, composition and oratory evinced the ability of the instructor and the industry of his pupils. The young ladies, under the care of Miss Swan, gave flattering proof of susceptible minds and refined taste. They exhibited such evidences of improvement in chirography, grammar, rhetoric, geography, composition, painting, and embroidery as reflected the highest honor on their governors and themselves. When we recollect the infancy of the institution and the obstructions to its rise, we cannot restrain our applause from the exertions of the instructors and the spirit of the town."

Then came the winter term when a new master, Mr. Samuel Greele, a Harvard graduate, took charge of the boys' room and the "female apartment" was closed till the following May. No efforts were made by the town authorities to keep the roads open in the winter, and many families were forced to hibernate more or less on their farms. In the spring when the girls' room



LACE VEIL EMBROIDERED BY ELIZA PEABODY, 1818

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was again opened, Mrs. Harriet Boardman was the preceptress. Meantime the Proprietors were making formal application to the General Court for incorporation through Nathaniel Thurston, a member of the House. The result was the following charter:

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH AN ACADEMY IN THE WEST PARISH IN THE TOWN OF
BRADFORD, BY THE NAME OF BRADFORD ACADEMY, FEBRUARY 4, 1804.

Whereas the Reverend Jonathan Allen, Benjamin Carlton, Daniel Carlton, Joseph Chadwick, Jonathan Chadwick, Asa Gage, Uriah Gage, Jeremiah Gage, Peter Gage, John Griffin, John Hasseltine, Moses Kimball, James Kimball, Edmund Kimball, Edward Kimball, John Smiley, Nathaniel Thurston, Ezra Trask, Benjamin Walker and Samuel Webster have built a good and convenient house for the purpose of an Academy for the education of youth of both sexes, in the west parish of Bradford in the county of Essex, and have given fifteen hundred dollars, the interest of which is to be applied to the support of said Academy;

SECTION I. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That there be, and hereby is established in the west parish of Bradford in the county of Essex an Academy by the name of Bradford Academy, for the purpose of promoting piety, religion, and morality, and for the education of youth in such languages and in such of the liberal arts and sciences as the trustees hereinafter named shall direct; and that the Reverend Jonathan Allen, the Reverend Ebenezer Dutch, the Reverend Isaac Braman, the Hon. Nathaniel Marsh, Esq., the Hon. Bailey Bartlett, Esq., Nathaniel Thurston, Esq., James Kimball, Esq., Benjamin Walker, physician, Joseph Chadwick, Edward Kimball and Samuel Webster, gentlemen, be, and they are incorporated into a Body Politic and Corporate by that name forever.

The remaining sections have to do with the holding of property. In general the verbose phrases were those used in scores of academy charters granted in that period. All emphasized the religious aim of the schools to which most of the trustees were well qualified to hold the teachers. Still stronger emphasis was given to character making in the constitution of Abbot Academy of 1829:

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"The primary object to be aimed at in this school shall ever be to regulate the tempers, to improve the taste, to discipline and enlarge the minds, and form the morals of the youth who may be members of it. . . . To form the immortal mind to habits suited to an immortal being, and to instill principles of conduct and form the character for an immortal destiny, shall be subordinate to no other care."

Of the trustees named in the charter we already know the two Bradford ministers, Mr. Allen and Mr. Dutch. Rev. Isaac Braman of Georgetown, another near neighbor, came on the Board in the second year of the school and served over forty years, nearly as long as he did his church. He was president from 1827 to his retirement in 1843. His orthodoxy remained staunch and his peaceful nature unruffled in the midst of theological storms. His friend, Dr. Withington of Newbury, said of him, "He had good solid talents, a kind of forbearing wit which marked his generosity as well as his power, excellent common sense and a diligence without bustle. I would like to know how many keen repartees which came to his lips were suppressed by his prudence." Both a daughter and a son of Mr. Braman were students of Bradford Academy.

Two charter members of the Board from Haverhill were Nathaniel Marsh and Bailey Bartlett. Mr. Marsh was a prominent and much respected business man who had done valiant service in the Revolutionary War, and was now a manufacturer of fur hats of a fashion which made an important item in a gentleman's costume of the day. He used raccoon and muskrat for the cheaper grades and beaver for the style which every well dressed man bought with his wedding coat for about seven dollars, and wore only to meeting and on great occasions, with the expectation that it would last a lifetime.⁴

⁴ *History of Haverhill*, Chase.

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Bailey Bartlett had, since early manhood, been one of the outstanding men of Haverhill, not only for offices held, but for his absolute integrity and a quality which we would now call his social conscience. With only the meager schooling afforded by the town, he had by his own wide reading gained an education which a college-bred man might envy. Picture him at the age of twenty-six the congenial companion in Philadelphia of John and Samuel Adams on July 4, 1776, and a keen observer of the excited crowd in the yard of Congress Hall when the Declaration was read. After being the first representative of Haverhill in the General Court, he and Nathaniel Marsh were sent as delegates to the state convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. Again in 1789 Mr. Bartlett was a "*first*"—this time Representative in Congress where he served four years, one term in Philadelphia, and one in the new capitol, Washington. It was a different kind of office which he was called upon to hold for the rest of his long life—that of Sheriff of Essex County. His duties began with the delightful one of escorting President Washington through the county on his remarkable tour in 1789, and continued with the greatest variety of tasks till the last fortnight of his life when, although very ill, he attended court.

Our interest in this public-spirited man necessarily centers in his home whence came eleven children to be educated at Bradford Academy, and three later generations of Bradford girls as well. If a kind fate had preserved for us the journal which he copied just before his death from the interleaved almanac kept by his father and himself, 1732-1830, what glimpses of that home we might have caught! The farming he carried on by scientific experiments, the furniture he made and carved for his friends, the goods he imported for his prosperous store, the arithmetic and geography lessons which the

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children brought home to study! Of his fifteen children eleven survived him and seven daughters were with him at his death in his eightieth year. During the seven years of his service as trustee he must have been keenly interested in the development of the new school.

Of the first trustees living in Bradford, we have already met the much-married Squire Thurston, Col. James Kimball, Col. Joseph Chadwick, and Lieut. Edward Kimball. Samuel Webster, who was the faithful clerk and secretary of the Board till his death in 1814, had a son Charles of sixteen when the Academy was started and a daughter Harriet, but he must have had more than a personal interest and faith in the new undertaking, to have been willing to serve the Board so tirelessly for eleven years. We may note in passing that his sister Betsey was the first on the list of Squire Thurston's wives.

Almost any story of village life in New England portrays the good doctor, that general practitioner at the call of everybody for miles around. Such, probably, was Dr. Benjamin Walker, a man of about thirty-two at this time, with two boys, Benjamin of nine, and Edward of eleven, big enough for Master Greele's teaching in 1804. Many a country doctor who has spent his life caring for a community has had an even briefer biography.

As I have already said, it was always a point in favor of wide influence to have at least a part of the Board of Trustees resident of towns other than the seat of the academy. Here three of the eleven were from nearby towns, a hopeful beginning as compared with that of many newly chartered and short-lived academies the trustees of which were all local.

CHAPTER VI

A DIM DECADE

1805-1815

IF it were not for curiosity as to how a school could grow when its treasury was so small and its clientele so far from affluent, one could easily pass over the years from 1805 to 1815 with a list of the names of eleven preceptors whose average term was less than a year, and of the four preceptresses, successors of Miss Swan. An examination of the trustees' records, however, excites our admiration for the persistence with which they pursued dilatory subscribers and added new ones. No grant of land, no specious lottery, no large gifts came. They organized under a "Committee of Exigencies," later called the Prudential Committee, a "Committee to Supply Instruction" and a "Committee of Supplies," but the statements about business meetings are the briefest. If some one had not been attending to the welfare of the school all the time, it would have died under the changing preceptors and fluctuating student body. With no regular course of study, no incentive to complete any units for graduation, boys and girls drifted in and out from term to term, often attending other academies between terms at Bradford.

In the *Haverhill Museum*, April 5, 1805, appeared this advertisement:

"The female Apartment in Bradford Academy (half a mile from Haverhill Bridge) will be opened the first Wednesday in May and under the care of approved instructors. The Male Apartment will be continued as usual. Young masters and misses will be instructed by such as are assigned to their prospective apartments in all the branches hitherto taught in that

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or any other academy. The preceptor will spend less time than usual in the Female Apartment and the Preceptress will have an assistant. The price of tuition except those who paint and embroider will be three dollars a quarter, and to those who paint and embroider three dollars and sixty cents. Very particular attention will be paid to inculcate virtuous sentiments, and preserve the moral character of the scholars."

That third preceptress was none other than young Harriet Webster, the daughter of the secretary of the Board, who had been a student in the Academy the previous year, and, incredible as it may seem, had previously taught in the academy at Blue Hill, Me. That was the usual procedure—a little schooling, a term of teaching, more schooling, more teaching, all before the age of twenty, and then, in Harriet's case, marriage to the Reverend Aaron Hardy of Boston.

If one would envisage one of Miss Webster's students of 1805, one may see her in the charming, piquant profile of Nancy Hildreth of Haverhill, the earliest picture of a Bradford girl that has come down to us. We have also a piece of her work, a pastoral scene painted on satin which exhibits more imagination than skill of execution. Perhaps the silhouette was made by John Putnam whose art, under the name of *PHYSIOGNOTRACE*, was advertised in the *Haverhill Museum* in July, 1805.

"John Putnam has taken a room in Capt. P. Richardson's tavern where he intends staying four days to take *PROFILE LIKENESSES* with his new-invented Delineating Pencil which for accuracy excels any machine ever invented for that purpose."

The trustees began this year to appoint someone, usually a neighboring clergyman, to deliver a lecture during the term and another to make an address at its close. The choice in July



NANCY HILDRETH, 1805



WORK OF NANCY HILDRETH, 1805

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was Mr. David Tenney Kimball, fresh from his theological studies and about to be ordained as minister in Ipswich, where for the next fifty years he reigned as a loved and admired pastor. One can imagine the pride of his two sisters, Clarissa and Sophia, when their big brother was chosen as lecturer and preacher in their own school and in the town where he had grown up.

A few other items of business from the trustees' record may be of interest. "Voted that the committee of supplies provide a quadrant for the academy," but the following year it was "voted that the committee of supplies be excused from procuring a quadrant till they have further instructions from the trustees." A by-law reads, "No student shall smooke any Cigars in or about the Academy or in the street in the vicinity."

In May, 1805, there was, as usual, a new preceptor at the Academy, but the newcomer, Abraham Burnham, was different from his predecessors. As the son of a farmer in Dunbarton, N. H., he had no chance to get an education except by buying books which he earned by extra farm work. Having mastered one book he was accustomed to sell it and buy another. But farming hours are long in summer, so he used to go to bed early and then get up at one or two o'clock to read before he went to work again. Thus he made some progress, though with weakened eyesight, and by his twenty-first year he was really preparing for college. He was about thirty when he graduated from Dartmouth in 1804, and his maturity was immediately evident in his teaching, both in Concord, N. H., and in Bradford. He brought to his position as preceptor a consecration, both intellectual and religious, yet his aim was not double but single, for he looked upon his office as an opportunity for the personal guidance of each student into a religious experience as a preparation for a life of Christian

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service. His fervor soon kindled a revival of religion which spread from the school into the church and the town. The whole atmosphere of Bradford became serious and thoughtful. John Hasseltine's dance hall was no longer the scene of "frolicings and dancings," and the whole family, especially the gay Nancy, grew subdued and introspective. The story of Nancy's experience and its tremendous results shall be told in another chapter. Her father, always the most upright and temperate of men, found a higher motive and new zest in life. He, his wife, Mary, and Nancy were in the group which united with the church in August, 1806, while Abigail and Rebecca came the next month. The minister, too, found depths of spiritual experience untried before, and his parishioners were the richer for his deepened consecration.

The trustees knew that Mr. Burnham wished to study for the ministry but they determined to keep him as long as possible, so they offered him five hundred dollars including his board for another year of service, which he accepted. His devotion to teaching is indicated by the fact that his name appears on the town records of Concord, N. H., as teaching there during the same years in which he was at Bradford. This he did by inserting a term into the last part of the winter, when there was no session at Bradford. He closed these connections in February, 1807, studied theology with a minister in Byfield, became pastor of a church in Pembroke, N. H., and was for some time connected with the Theological Seminary which grew up with Gilmanton Academy, N. H. He married one of his Bradford students, Mary White of Haverhill.

That Gilmanton Academy offered an education to ambitious girls we have evidence from the story of Sophia Hayes of Dover, N. H. In her autobiography she says:

"I felt the importance of pursuing studies and better pre-

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paring myself as a teacher. . . . In the winter of 1805, accompanied by a lady and her worthy brother, in an open sleigh on a severe cold day we set our faces toward the desired seminary. . . . We encountered icy hills and deep snow, and being incumbered by heavy baggage, we made slow progress; arrived at Barrington at early candle light and spent the night at an inn. The second day at two o'clock we arrived at Mr. French's Hotel in Gilmanton. . . . I remained there under the instruction of Mr. Sheldon, quite a popular teacher, till I had exhausted my funds.

"With good courage I commenced teaching again. As soon as it was rumored that I had just returned from Gilmanton Academy I had many applications. I instructed the youth for two quarters, and began to sigh for further knowledge. I then counted my shillings and pence to see if I could set my face toward Bradford Academy. I felt somewhat doubtful as to my means. I made known my intentions to a lady of my acquaintance who kindly loaned me a five dollar bill.

"In the summer of 1807, I left Dover by the mail stage for Bradford, as that was the only stage that passed through, or came to the place at that time; the mail route was through Portland, Dover and Portsmouth. I slept in Portsmouth one night; the second day I arrived at Kimball's Inn at Bradford, where I received marked attention by Mrs. K. She soon directed me to a fine boarding house where I was made very happy. After some preliminaries, I soon entered the Academy. Isaac Morrill, A.M. Preceptor, and Miss Eliza (Betsey) Allen, daughter of the Rev. Jona. Allen who was selected President of the Institution in 1803 were present."

Sophia went on to describe some of the marvelous pieces of embroidery made by some of her schoolmates, but she said nothing about their religious interests. She must have been

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considerably older than Harriet Atwood, the fourteen-year-old Haverhill girl whose journal was to be read for years afterwards by thousands.

An intimate friend of Harriet was Fanny Woodbury of Beverly whose diary and letters were published after her death in 1814. Bradford Academy possesses the time-stained manuscript pages of part of that diary written from her home:

"Nov. 2, 1807. Tomorrow by divine leave, I expect to go to Bradford with my sister. May God bless the visit. O may my conversation be such as becometh the Gospel of Christ."

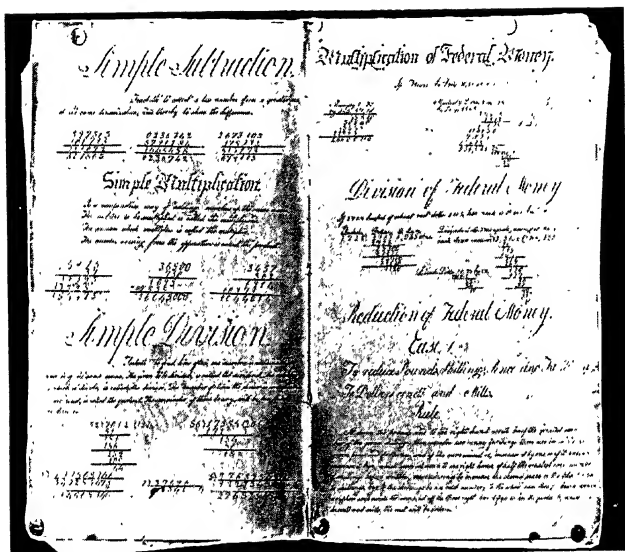
"Nov. 4. Yesterday my sister and I rode to my beloved Bradford. This afternoon returned with the amiable and pious N. H. (Nancy Hasseltine?). By hearing good conversation my feelings are somewhat revived."

Here is part of a letter to a Bradford Academy friend:

"Sept. 6, 1812. My dear Friend: I consider your present situation important and critical. You not only possess advantages for acquiring polite and scientific knowledge, but you are indulged with many religious privileges. Bradford is dear to the hearts of many who were made there to tremble under the thunders of Mt. Sinai, and at length took refuge in the Ark of Safety, and commenced their journey Zionward with alacrity and zeal. For like reasons it may be peculiarly dear to you."

Some of Fanny Woodbury's favorite books were Scott's *Commentary*, which she read through twice; Buck's *Christian Review*; Dana's *Memories of Pious Women*; Hannah More's *Practical Piety*; Watts' *Improvement of the Mind*; Scott's *Force of Truth*; Buchanan's *Researches in Asia*.

There is evidence that such books were read by many serious-minded girls of that time, but one is skeptical of the ma-



LUCRETIA KIMBALL'S ARITHMETIC BOOK, 1811

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jority who, if they read at all, could probably find copies of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, *Rasselas*, and Hannah More's *Fables for Females* for light reading. They could buy the textbooks then in use along with the "necessary quills, sand boxes, wafers, ink powder, camel's hair brushes, cyphering books and copy slips, for sale by Francis Gould at his book store a few rods east of Haverhill Bridge."

1807-1808 was a hard season financially for the school. The fund renewed and increased, produced but seventy-five or eighty dollars a year, if all the interest money were paid, and the treasurer, Col. James Kimball, had difficulty in collecting even that. The trustees voted in October, 1807, to publish in two Boston papers, one Salem, and one Newburyport paper that Bradford Academy would continue and that board would not exceed "9/6 in winter and 9 shillings in summer."

In the *Merrimack Intelligencer* of August 13, 1808, we read:

"BRADFORD ACADEMY. As a report has been circulated that Bradford Academy has been closed, the public are hereby informed that the second term will begin August 10, and that it will open for the admission of young ladies and gentlemen as usual."

The Board of Trustees lost several of its charter members about this time. When Nathaniel Thurston moved to New York State his place was very ably filled by John Hasseltine, now Deacon Hasseltine. The death of Mr. Dutch of the East Parish left a vacancy logically filled by his successor, the Reverend Gardner Perry. The places of Bailey Bartlett, Nathaniel Marsh, and Dr. Walker were taken by James Varnum, a Haverhill lawyer; Rev. Joshua Dodge, the minister of the First Parish, Haverhill; and Moses Kimball of Bradford. There was therefore no widening geographically of the points

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of view among the members of the Board. The succeeding eight preceptors were Samuel Peabody, Daniel Hardy, Luther Bailey, Samuel Adams, Richard Kimball, Ebenezer Sperry, Nathaniel Dike, and Daniel Noyes. Their reason for teaching is clearly set forth in an extant letter of Nathaniel Dike written in 1814, requesting recommendation :

“It is now two years since I was graduated from Yale College. On account of the narrowness of my circumstances I resorted immediately to school-keeping for subsistence. I had charge of Bradford Academy for a year and a half.”

That the best of endowed schools suffered from the same cause is shown in the history of Phillips Academy, Andover.¹

“In Andover a committee of trustees reported that the inexperienced young assistants had time neither for the preparation of their work nor for acquaintance with their students ; that they never stayed longer than one year and were interested only in their prospective professions.”

It should be added, however, that Daniel Hardy left the ministry to teach and after being preceptor at Bradford, was a teacher in Pelham, N. H.

Of all these men only the last, Mr. Noyes, was concerned with the later development of the school. After graduating from Yale he was a druggist in Boston. Later he lived in Andover and Bradford, and for over twenty years he served Bradford most efficiently as a trustee.

Of the preceptresses, Harriet Webster and Betsey Allen had both been students at the Academy, and the same was true of Charlotte Gage who stayed on at her post from 1808 to 1814, while the preceptors came and went. Betsey Allen taught in several other schools before her marriage to Rev. Thomas Merrill of Middlebury, Vt. One likes to believe that going to

¹ Fuess, Claude, *An Old New England School*, p. 128.

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Middlebury as the bride of the minister in 1812 she was sympathetic with the plans of Mrs. Emma Willard who, in that year, because of her husband's financial losses, opened a boarding school in her own Middlebury home.

Mrs. Willard's ideas about the higher education of women, eloquently set forth in her "Address" in 1819, must have been taking shape in her Middlebury school, and surely were known to the minister's wife. And would she not write of them to her father, still the president of the trustees of Bradford Academy?

The very mention of Emma Willard's name is a sign that a new day is dawning in the education of girls. If we scan the sky for rays of light we shall find one near at hand, in Byfield. It is not bright at first, only a casual mention of the beginnings of a school:

"Deacon Ben Colman has bought the seceders' useless meeting house and removing it to his own neighborhood, has fitted it to be used as a school and dwelling. Here between 1807 and 1812 presided Rebecca Hardy, Rebecca Hasseltine (of Bradford), Mary Atwood (of Haverhill), Eliza Tuck and Mary Adams."²

It seems also that Harriet Atwood went as a student with her sister Mary, the teacher, and probably Nancy Hasseltine went for a term with *her* sister Rebecca. Abigail Hasseltine also taught one summer term at the Byfield school, but the gap between 1812 and the coming of Joseph Emerson in 1818 cannot be filled, so the day of Byfield's Female Seminary had not yet come.

² *Cleveland's Historical Discourse on Century of Dummer Academy*, '63.

CHAPTER VII

BRADFORD TOUCHES ASIA

THE setting aside of a separate chapter for the Bradford missionary story needs no explanation to those familiar with the history of the Academy. The vital impulse which the school received from the life of Nancy Hasseltine Judson and the death of Harriet Atwood Newell did more to determine its history for a century than any other one influence except the leadership of Abigail Hasseltine; thousands who might never have heard of the academy on the Merrimack knew it as the school which had in some measure molded those heroic souls. The stories have been told and retold hundreds of times, usually with more emotion than understanding, with the result that these two very real Bradford girls are seen only through a mist of ecstasy or amazement which removes them to the category of the medieval saint. Saints they were, yet we shall but love them the more if we try to enter into their experiences by examining, so far as we may, the circumstances which led to their extraordinary decision to spend their lives as no other American woman up to that time had done.

Nancy Hasseltine's Bradford home and family we have already seen. Now cross the river and go up the hill to where the old high school stands facing Dustin Square. There see, instead of the brick school building, a big white house with a huge apple tree at one side of it, and enter the comfortable home of Moses Atwood and his wife Mary. They were East Bradford people, but evidently Haverhill offered better business opportunities, so Mr. Atwood moved his family thither and set up a general store in which he was successful. Nine children, all spaced just two years apart, came into that home,

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and all of them attended Bradford Academy, Mary being one of the girls at the first session.

Mr. Atwood was a public spirited man like Mr. Hasseltine, and was much respected in Haverhill. His wife, a vigorous woman, stronger in health than her husband, was determined that her children should get a better education than either she or her husband had received, and their religious training naturally was her life work.

The family attended the First Parish Church which stood at the head of the common where Rev. Abiel Abbot had been the minister for several years previous to 1803. Mr. Abbot was not as orthodox as some people desired, and the church was a center of the Unitarian controversy. After his withdrawal, there was no settled pastor for five years, the very period when Elizabeth, Harriet, and John Atwood were coming under the influence of Mr. Burnham at the Academy. The parents, regretting what Harriet's journal calls the "destitute, broken state" of their church, were glad of the religious teachings in the school.

Harriet, the third daughter, was born October 10, 1793, and was therefore not yet thirteen when she entered the Academy in June, 1806. Can you see her, a slight, rather frail-looking girl, dressed in a high-waisted, straight dimity gown, as she walks over the Haverhill Bridge on a summer morning in time for that eight o'clock hour when the boys came into the girls' room and Preceptor Burnham conducted the devotional service? She was as fond of study as was Nancy Hasseltine, four years her senior, and loved even more to write. She had already kept a journal for two years, writing out in the stilted fashion of the day her reflections upon her own conduct which, to her super-sensitive mind, seemed full of lapses. Her biographers always picture Harriet and one or two of her chosen

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friends, Nancy, Fanny Woodbury, or Catherine Pearson of Newburyport, walking at recess time or the noon hour in the lane under the acacia trees, talking seriously of Mr. Burnham's appeals. So devoted was Harriet to her duty in bringing her companions to see their need of a personal Saviour, that Mr. Allen is said to have remarked, "That child will do more to induce youth to come to Christ than I can."

When one considers the doctrines that impressionable girls like Harriet, Nancy, Fanny Woodbury, and their friends were taught by those to whom they looked as supreme authority — the total depravity of their own nature; the doctrine of election by which a few chosen ones would be saved while all others would be eternally damned; the difficult theory of redemption whereby their many sins would be forgiven through the vicarious suffering of their Lord to appease an angry God — when we think how they attempted to grasp these things and then to experience that mysterious change which would suddenly take away forever their happy girlish natures and leave them conscious only of a profound anxiety for the salvation of the "lost" ones all about them — we can a little better understand such utterances as these passages in Harriet's journal:

"My heart bleeds for our companions who are on the brink of destruction. In what manner shall I speak to them? But perhaps I am in the same way."

"*October 10, 1806*, This is my birthday. Thirteen years of my short life have gone forever."

"*March 25, 1807*, the second birthday of baby Emily, "Little E's birthday. While reading of those children who cried Hosanna to the son of David, I ardently wished that this dear child might be sanctified. She is not too young to be made a subject of Immanuel's kingdom."

While her mind and heart were thus burdened with the age-

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old problems of evil, a favorite uncle died, and within a year, May 8, 1808, her beloved father at the age of forty-six died of consumption. The brave mother and nine children now, if ever, needed the support and comfort of a faith built on a sure foundation. Just then their church secured a minister, Rev. Joshua Dodge, who greatly helped them. He knew Mr. Burnham and asked him to preach for him in Haverhill, so Harriet was again under the influence of the one whom she called her spiritual father.

"His conversation had the desired effect," she writes, "I then made the solemn resolution as I trust, in the strength of Jesus, that I would make a sincere dedication of my all to my Creator, both for time and for eternity. This resolution produced a calm serenity and composure to which I have long been a stranger." Soon after this, August 6, 1809, she joined the church.

The death of her father, the devastations of tuberculosis among her friends, and her own frail health naturally made her contemplate the possibility of her own early death. Her morbid introspections needed an absorbing activity to dispel them. After a second term at Bradford Academy she seems not to have been in school again till the fall of 1810 when she accompanied her sister Mary who had charge of the Byfield school. Meanwhile she had been dangerously sick with a fever and regarded her recovery as a sign that she owed her life, "a living sacrifice" to God. She had become acquainted with Rev. Joseph Emerson of Beverly who, no doubt, encouraged her to bear to all within her reach the message of what Christ had done for her.

She was at home again in October, and on the twentieth she writes:

"A female friend (Nancy Hasseltine) called upon us this

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morning. She informed me of her determination to quit her native land forever, to endure the sufferings of a Christian amongst heathen nations, to spend her days in India. . . . Is she willing to do all this for God; and shall I refuse to lend my little aid in a land where divine revelation has shed its brightest ray?"

Meantime how had Nancy Hasseltine, the center of all the happy life of the young people of Bradford, come to such a decision as that which she announced to the awe-struck Harriet? We turn again to the great religious awakening of Mr. Burnham's teaching in the Academy, and find Nancy no longer the leader in the dances and parties. Her active mind is searching for a secure foundation on which to build a happy, zestful life.

"One Sabbath morning," she writes in her journal, "just as I was leaving, I accidentally took up Hannah More's *Strictures on Female Education*, and the words that caught my eye were, 'She that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth.' . . . They struck me to the heart . . . but at last I thought that the words were not so applicable to me as I at first imagined, and resolved to think no more of them."

. . . "In the course of a few months (at the age of fifteen) I met with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and it left this impression — that Christian, because he adhered to the narrow path, was carried safely through all his trials and at last admitted to heaven. I resolved to begin a religious life."

But this form of religion—a sanctified form of *Safety First*—could not satisfy that girl. She went back to her gayety, but was not happy in it. Then she put her mind on the awful doctrines held up before her.

"I could not endure the thought that God had a right to call one and leave another to perish. So far from being merci-

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ful in calling some, I thought it cruel in him to send any of his creatures to hell for their disobedience. . . . A few days after this I read Bellamy's *True Religion* and I obtained a new view of the character of God. His justice, which I had before viewed as cruel, now appeared to be an expression of hatred of sin, and regard to the good of beings in general."

She went through many of the same painful struggles as the far less tempestuous Harriet, and it was with many misgivings that she joined the Bradford church on September 14. At intervals between terms at the Academy she taught little schools in Salem, Haverhill, and Newbury, for she was as much in need of active service as any college graduate today. At the age of nineteen or twenty she wrote maturely about her opportunities for doing good among her pupils. Then came 1810!

Coincident with these spiritual conflicts and efforts at self-expression on the part of Harriet and Nancy, so significant of their time in New England, was the birth of the great missionary college resolve among the "Haystack Brethren," a group of students at Williams College, led by Samuel Mills, and a band of earnest souls at Andover Seminary. Space forbids the full telling of that story, but we must know two of those men. Adoniram Judson, the son of a minister in Malden, and later of Plymouth, graduated at nineteen as valedictorian of his class at Brown University. Brilliant, facile in argument, and eager for adventure, both intellectual and material, he had not made up his mind to enter the ministry when he applied at Andover. He was admitted, however, on the ground of his desire to learn the tenets of faith in order to determine his plan of life, and the Seminary had no reason to regret its leniency. He soon became acquainted with Samuel Nott, who was deeply interested in the question of missions, and before

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the coming of the Williams College group he had joined the church and determined to become a minister. Samuel Mills, James Richards, Luther Rice, Gordon Hall and Samuel Newell brought into the Andover group a zeal for the extension of Christianity which kindled an unquenchable fire. They found some encouragement among the Andover professors and a few of the neighboring clergy, who advised them to present their views to the Association of Congregational ministers about to meet in Bradford.

On the twenty-eighth of June, therefore, the students walked from Andover to Bradford, while Dr. Spring of Newburyport and Rev. Mr. Worcester of the Tabernacle Church of Salem were driving over and, it is said, planning the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions — even to the name — on the road. The students must have started about sunrise and, after a prolonged meeting held in the Academy, they had acquired a good appetite by dinner time, when they were entertained in the nearby homes. It happened that Judson was assigned to the hospitality of the Hasseltine house, and there — for so the story runs — he first saw Nancy's brilliant eyes and smiling mouth, as she waited upon the guests. At twenty some of the roguishness had given place to a keen look of observation, but if she expected to see and hear wonders from the young student about whom everyone was talking she was disappointed. He was silent — fittingly, perhaps, considering what was at stake, she thought — still, why would he not look up when she passed him the very best pie? Romance insists the reason was *not* because he was mentally rehearsing his speech of the afternoon but because he was composing a sonnet to those eyes!

No women were present, of course, at the meeting, but we may be sure that there was hot discussion in the homes; some



ANN HASSELTINE JUDSON



HARRIET ATWOOD NEWELL

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denounced the "mad, fanatical scheme," and others quoted, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel."

The address of the students, written by Judson, asked the advice of the Association as to whether they should give up their desire to preach Christianity in the dark lands of Asia and Africa, or whether a society could be formed to support them in the enterprise, as had already been done in England. Each student also presented his own views orally, and so convincing were they that they met with very little opposition. The committee to whom the matter was referred reported favorably the next day at the adjourned meeting in the church, with the result that one may read on the monument that stands on the Bradford Common today —

"The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized June 29, 1810, in the church that stood here. It has carried the Gospel into many lands and ministered to millions through its churches, schools, and hospitals."

At the celebration of the Centennial of the American Board, October 10, 1910, John R. Mott, speaking to the great crowd on Bradford Common where the monument had just been unveiled, interpreted the historical event in terms which we can understand today:

"The great enterprise which we commemorate here today began as a *student movement*. It has preserved a close and sympathetic touch with the student centers of America. It has to a wonderful degree commanded the loyal following and devotion of students. . . . I find among the students of the present the same loyalty to the Church of Jesus Christ which characterized those of the first generation. I find the same inter-collegiate spirit and conviction as to the importance of united action in advancing the missionary enterprise. . . . The first band of student volunteers had . . . visions which they

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were unable to realize in their day — visions, however, which the students of our day are realizing.”

A few weeks after that momentous conclusion was reached by the ministers in Bradford, another decision was called for, this time by a girl. A letter directed in a fine scholarly hand came by the new Boston stage from Andover to Nancy Hasseltine. Perhaps the writer, who was somewhat in the habit of getting what he wanted, expected a prompt and favorable reply, but he was kept waiting. Nancy’s imagination may have been caught, but too much was involved; why should she hurry?

“Nancy,” asked Abigail, “Have you answered that letter from Mr. Judson yet?”

“No,” came a little sullenly from the harassed Nancy.

“Well, if you don’t, I will.”

And since Abigail had a way of keeping her word, Nancy forthwith sent an answer — rather cool and unsympathetic it was — which showed Judson that something more than correspondence was needed. So through the ensuing weeks he learned the road between Andover and Bradford very well and a good many things besides. His letter of formal application to Mr. Hasseltine bears witness to the value of what he asked and the seriousness of his great plan.

In September Nancy, who had gone to Beverly to be with Abigail, wrote to her friend Lydia Kimball in Bradford, “I feel willing and expect, if nothing in providence prevents, to spend my days in this world in heathen lands”; and in October, as we have already heard, she called on Harriet Atwood to tell her the same news.

Three days after that call, Harriet’s journal records, “October 23, Mr. M. introduced Mr. Newell to our family.” She must have been hearing much about her caller and his part in

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the missionary project. He had been the first spokesman before the Andover professors and ministers previous to the Bradford meeting, and his record as a Harvard student was known. He was a few years older than Judson, no less persistent in his determination but not so aggressive and brilliant in expressing himself. The gentleness and simplicity of his nature must have appealed to Harriet, irrespective of his calling. It was the following April while Harriet was with her sister Mary in Charlestown that she received a letter, "not a long wished for letter, — no, it was a long dreaded one." Harriet's decision was even more difficult than Nancy's, because she had little confidence in her own health. When, however, she said as much to Mr. Newell who knew that she was not physically strong, he told her that a friend whom he had consulted had answered him, "A little slender woman may endure losses and sufferings as cheerfully and resolutely as an apostle," a tribute to womanhood which Harriet lived long enough to prove true. It must have been her overwhelming sense of duty that decided her, upheld by a faith that in staking her life on this greatest of all Christian adventures, she would be sustained through every trial.

So it came about that early in 1812, all obstacles removed, preparations were nearly complete for the departure of our missionaries and four others. On the fifth of February Nancy Hasseltine became Mrs. Adoniram Judson, and on the ninth Harriet and Mr. Newell were married in Haverhill. The young men were ordained with three others at the Tabernacle Church, Salem, on February sixth, but the party was obliged to divide because the only available vessel sailing from Salem could carry but four passengers. The others sailed in the *Harmony* from Philadelphia. Unusually severe weather delayed the sailing of the *Caravan*, but it was not alone the elements which

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were unfriendly. Many good people, including ministers, heartily disapproved of the whole enterprise. Rev. William Bentley of Salem, into whose diary we have already looked, wrote there:¹

“*February 2, 1812.* We have missions from every sect who follow all their prejudices into every country into which their zeal can penetrate. The Hopkinsians give notice that they have four candidates for their missions to be ordained in the Tabernacle this week, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Newell, Samuel Nott, and Gordon Hall. We learn nothing favorable to their talents or experience.”

The delay in sailing had, however, increased the number of friends and donors, so that when the two ships set forth the missionaries were supplied with money for a year. At last Captain Heard, Master of the *Caravan*, summoned the Judsons and Newells on board; then another storm—still time for one more letter; so Harriet sent a last brave message to her mother—“And O, forgive me for so often causing you pain and anxiety. May the Almighty reward you a hundred fold for your goodness to me.”

Bad weather, seasickness, a small sailing vessel filled with freight to be traded in Calcutta. Yet they were fortunate in the captain, Augustine Heard, who must have viewed with some misgivings the prospect of a four or five months' voyage in the unaccustomed odor of sanctity. Captain Heard, an Ipswich man, was now for the first time master of a ship. He was only twenty-seven, but his experience as super-cargo in several voyages had proved him wise beyond his years, and a kind, friendly man as well. So he cheerfully faced the inconvenience of having decks filled with hencoops and hogpens which were to provide fresh meat for the passengers. The ship

¹ Bentley's Diary, vol. 4, p. 82.

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owner, Pickering Dodge, had written him, "The missionaries are to dine in the cabin. I hope you will find them pleasant companions. Give them a fresh dish once a week or oftener."

So Harriet was able to write in her diary, intended for her mother, that she was agreeably disappointed in their surroundings. One week out, however, the ship sprang a leak which could not at first be located, and the danger was great, but the source was found and mended. Nancy Judson wrote to her mother, "We have such a supply of provisions on board I generally find something I can relish. . . . The captain is a young gentleman of an amiable disposition and pleasing manners. He and all the officers treat us with the greatest kindness and respect. . . . Today it was proposed to the captain to have worship in the cabin. He readily assented and joined us with two of the other officers."

But hard days came, the voyage was greatly prolonged. They were within speaking distance of a vessel bound for America, but were under orders, on account of the war with Great Britain, to hold no communication with any ship. Harriet wrote of the ship as "an old leaky vessel." The preserves and delicacies given by American friends spoiled in their flooded cabin.

On June fifteenth, four months from home, they came in sight of land, but when at last they sailed into the harbor of Calcutta, the East India Company forbade their stay and refused to give Captain Heard clearance papers from port unless he promised to take the missionaries back with him. The English missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward were most hospitable in their quarters in Serampore; but the British orders were inexorable—they must go elsewhere; it was unthinkable to return home; but where could they do the great work they had come so far to accomplish? There was a small

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vessel sailing for the Isle of France (now Mauritius) east of Madagascar, twenty-five hundred miles southwest of Calcutta. There was room on that vessel for but two, and since the climate of the island was said to be healthier than that of India, the Newells were persuaded by the Judsons to take the opportunity. Good-byes were said, and Harriet and her husband soon found themselves in a much more hazardous situation than on the *Caravan*. For three months they were tossed about by storms. In the midst of it all a baby girl was born, to live only a few days. Harriet, too, was very ill; the old enemy which had taken her father laid its deadly hold upon her.

They landed at Port Louis and immediately a British surgeon and a Danish doctor came to Harriet's aid, but it was too late. "Tell them, also my dear Mother, that I have never regretted leaving my native land for the cause of Christ," was the last message. She died November 30, 1812, nineteen years old.

The Judsons, meanwhile, were in dire straits, for they must depart or go to prison. After many wild adventures they followed the Newells to the Isle of France hoping that the little company of four might continue together. Not till they disembarked at Port Louis did they learn from the broken-hearted Mr. Newell of Harriet's death. For some months they lingered on the lovely island, but they could not reconcile themselves to working under such *favorable* conditions. Nancy wrote:

"*March 12, 1813.* We have sometimes thought of staying on this island as missionaries are really needed here, but when we compare this population with many other places we cannot feel justified in staying here. . . . We long to get to a place where we shall spend the remainder of our lives in instructing the heathen."

News of their wanderings brought anxiety to their home

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friends and some satisfaction to their I-told-you-so critics. Mr. Bentley's journal² became ironical and even bitter.

"Dec. 13, 1812. We learn that the missionaries that went in a Salem vessel had been forbidden a landing. . . . All the wonderful labors of that self-inspired Genius has too much the air of Evil to be overlooked. . . . Of the money, \$40,000 was raised by the will of a poor infatuated woman of Salem. . . . The Institution of Andover had connected its views with this fanatical design and prayer meetings have been constantly held for the success of the enterprise. . . ."

"March 28, 1813. The *Caravan*, a Salem vessel that carried the missionaries to Bengal has returned. Reports are endless respecting these infatuated, now perhaps roguish men. The mad scheme cannot be too much reprobated, as executed, and the silence seems to express that there is not much to applaud when Fanaticism dares not to uncover."

Even if Nancy and Adoniram had heard such remarks they would not have been moved from their purpose. Opportunity came to them to go to an island in the Strait of Malacca, but to get there they must go by way of Madras which was under the dreaded East India Company. Arriving there they were forced immediately to escape, and the only means offered was a ship sailing to Burmah, the very place they had most wished to avoid. But there was no choice, and the brave young couple looked upon the necessity as their opportunity. After another terrible voyage they reached Rangoon and began to discover in what strange land they had taken up their task. The thirteen remaining years of Nancy Judson's life were full of experiences more like those of the Christians of the second and third centuries than any happenings of the nineteenth. To generalize about them, however, is to reduce that vivid re-

² Bentley's Diary, vol. 4, pp. 138, 160.

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sourceful woman to a mere formula. Read her story in *Ann of Ava*,³ in *The Splendor of God*,⁴ or better still, in her own journal, as edited in the *Memoir*;⁵ a book which, like *The Life and Writings of Harriet Newell*,⁶ running into edition after edition, was read by thousands on both sides of the Atlantic. One story with its setting must suffice here.

World tourists who nowadays sail to Rangoon and up the Irawadi to Mandalay see Burmah after it has been under British rule for a century. Much of its ancient beauty of architecture remains, but most of the squalor, disease, and cruel custom have been conquered or forced to retreat into localities unseen by the traveler. How much of the change is due to formal British occupation and how much to the mission work started by the Judsons is difficult to determine, but it is well to remember that here as in India, Americans have been able to do a vast amount of good which the British, just because they have been foreign rulers, could not accomplish. Moreover, the Burmese were still independent when the Judsons arrived, although the British had taken over the lands up to their very western border.

During the first few years of the Judsons' life in Rangoon, while they were mostly occupied with learning the language, they found the people friendly and the governor and his wife kindly disposed. Then came a golden opportunity to open a mission in the capital city of Ava, far up the Irawadi, where

³ *Ann of Ava*, by Ethel Daniels Hubbard. Interchurch Press. New York, 1813.

⁴ *The Splendor of God*, by Honoré Willsie Morrow. Wm. Morrow & Co. 1929.

⁵ *Memoir of Mrs. Ann H. Judson*, late Missionary to Burmah, by James D. Knowles. . . . several editions, Boston.

⁶ *The Life and Writings of Mrs. Harriet Newell*. Committee of the American S. S. Union, Philadelphia. Nine editions.

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the king himself promised his patronage. They therefore moved to Ava, but by the time they arrived all was changed. Burmese insolence to British officials in the newly conquered territory met with the usual response, and before the Burmese government knew what had happened, the British had captured Rangoon, and all English speaking people were immediately in great danger.

Suddenly Mr. Judson was dragged from his house and thrown into prison on the pretext that he might be a British spy. His wife, hearing that he was confined in a poisonous vault, made every possible appeal to governor, king, queen, and local officials but with no avail. When the hot season came and some of the prisoners had died of fever, Judson and other survivors, all very sick, were taken to a more distant prison, but where, Nancy could not at first discover. Nothing daunted, though ill herself and carrying her infant son, she followed and at last discovered her husband chained in prison and worse off than in the previous jail. Yet Judson himself had many a tale to tell of the kindness of Bengalese servants and other lowly people who had realized that his worst crime was an effort to bring good to themselves. While Nancy was trying to minister to her husband, and at the same time care for her baby and two native children whom she had adopted, smallpox attacked one of these children. Immediately Nancy learned to vaccinate the others and soon had the entire community begging for the charm which kept off the horrible disease. But there was a limit to her strength. She was smitten with fever and if it had not been for a loving Bengalese cook, would have died before her husband was released. Freedom came for him after the official who had caused his arrest was executed for treason, but grief came at the same time. The little son had died under distressing conditions.

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Release brought Mr. Judson the duty of acting as interpreter to the British army officers; then came the return to Rangoon where they took up the broken threads and began weaving a fabric which, if they could see it today, would exceed even their most fervid dreams. Nancy Judson lived to see only its beginnings, for she died October 24, 1826, worn out but not dismayed by the hardships over which her spirit triumphed.

In the fourteen years after Nancy Judson had left America her letters had come at long intervals to her home and to the Academy. These had brought fresh enthusiasm to the missionary cause; so, while more young men and women were preparing themselves to "carry on" for the sake of Harriet Newell, and to take relief to the Judsons, students at Bradford Academy formed little "circles" and societies for spreading missionary information and for raising money. It was, indeed, as Dr. Mott said, a student movement. We smile at the name of the "Society for the Education of Pious Young Men," because we have grown afraid of an implied hypocrisy in "pious" and "piety" which a century ago those words did not carry. In the town of Bradford, also, was formed the "Philendian Society" "to support female teachers" where there were neglected children. Under its auspices schools were established in many towns near Bradford, and some of the Bradford girls gained their first experience in these schools. The enterprise was all in the same spirit as the wider one which reached out to Asia.

Nancy paid one visit at home, coming by way of England where she received a very warm reception. It is to this visit of 1822 that we owe the familiar portrait painted by Rembrandt Peale, and the dress she wore for the sittings was given her by English admirers. Much of her time in America after a happy

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visit at home was spent under medical treatment at Baltimore, the result of which was that she went back to Burmah with health renewed so that she was able to work four years more.

Other signs of the hold which the missionary spirit had taken upon Bradford can be read from the old catalogues. In 1810-1811 the name of Henry Obookiah appears, and a dusty little autobiography bearing that name tells the story of a boy in Owhy-hee (Hawaii?) who, after his parents had been "killed before his eyes," had made his escape from an uncle who wished to make him a priest, and sailed to America. Befriended in New York and New Haven where he came under the kindness of President Dwight, he came to Andover and thence to Bradford where he lived for several months in the Hasseltine family. But Bradford Academy life was "not serious enough" for him, so he returned to Connecticut, but his health failed and he died in 1818.

We know less about another mysterious name of the same year—1811—"Jehoiakim Nowas, Stockbridge Indians, New York," no doubt a convert of one of the numerous mission stations among the Indians. The name that came to be synonymous with missions at Bradford was that of Rufus Anderson. For the beginning of his long connection with the school we must look to 1806-1809 when he came, a boy of thirteen, to the Academy. He said in his later years that he and Nancy Hasseltine played together and that she "used to chase him about the Academy grounds with a stick." His father took him to Salem to witness the ordination of the four missionaries in 1812, an event which made an indelible impression on him. After graduation from Bowdoin and Andover Seminary he assisted the secretary and treasurer of the American Board, thus beginning a life work which centered in that growing organization. We shall find him a trustee at Bradford and

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for twelve years president of its Board. His interest in missions brought many a brilliant missionary daughter to the school, and sent out many more to follow the example of Harriet and Nancy. It is easy to count twenty names of Bradford girls between 1816 and 1846 who went abroad to carry the Christian message, and it is very probable that many more are not listed in our incomplete alumnae records of those days.



BENJAMIN GREENLEAF

CHAPTER VIII

MR. GREENLEAF AND HIS BOYS

IT is unfortunate that the only surviving pictures of Bradford's one great schoolmaster represent him late in life, for it is not as an old man that we must think of him. Bradford girls who look up at his portrait in the Academy chapel see a gray-haired man of achievement, sitting calmly with a pile of his own textbooks beside him, but they also see his merry eyes which seem to be roving the room for an unwary student upon whom he can pounce with such a question as, "If there were six birds on the branch of a tree and a sportsman shot two of them, how many would remain?"

His own students remember him nervously pacing back and forth in the schoolroom, his black hair either covering his forehead and temples or rumpled by his hands, while at the back it was braided into a queue of respectable length, and tied with a broad black ribbon. This queue he was constantly tossing back over his shoulder. One of his 1816 students has described him: "Sit or stand he could not; in him experimenters for perpetual motion would have found a solution. So impatient were his thoughts for utterance they set in motion his hands, arms — his whole body." It was fortunate for Bradford Academy that his restless ambition and boundless energy were to find expression in teaching as a profession, not as a convenient stepping-stone to some other calling.

To account for this ambition we must find a home in the West Parish of Haverhill where Caleb Greenleaf and his wife Susanna Emerson from Methuen made a difficult livelihood on a farm. Benjamin's father was a well informed man, well read in history, and so fine was his handwriting that for years he

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was parish clerk, and was often employed in drafting wills.

Nevertheless such was their poverty and so little was the schooling, that the boy Benjamin did not learn his multiplication table till after he was fourteen years old. His passion for books was not easily indulged, but by borrowing some and by saving his pennies, earned by extra work, he got hold of others; in after years he once said, "If I ever offered up an earnest prayer it was for rainy days that I might betake myself to my books." Once when in a neighbor's kitchen, he saw a child dragging about by a string one of his own precious volumes that he had loaned in exchange for another. History has forgotten to say what he did to the child. By hard work and stringent economy he found the means for entering Atkinson Academy in 1805. He lived in the home of the preceptor, John Vose, who must have found him an avid learner. By alternating study with teaching he made himself ready for Dartmouth College. His diary shall tell the story.¹

"*Sept. 26, 1810.* Exhibition Day at Atkinson; spoke the valedictory oration. Had a large ball in the evening; Betton, Nichols and myself were managers.

"*27th.* Went to Haverhill in the morning for my horse, and set out for Dartmouth College, and take my farewell of Atkinson Academy. Arrive that day with Nichols and his father at Concord, N. H. and put up. . . .

"*29th.* Arrive at Hanover at 8 of the clock, A.M. At a quarter past 9 offer myself for examination before the officers of the college. After one hour and three quarters, was admitted to a regular standing in the Sophomore class without any difficulty.

"*October 1st.* Purchased for myself a number of articles,

¹ Greenleaf's Diary, now lost, is quoted by Mrs. Elizabeth Cate Barrows in the *Memorial History of Bradford Academy*, p. 21.

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viz. ; Bedstead \$2.00 ; one skillet, .29 ; towell, .62 ; pail, .25 ; quire of paper, 4 quills .29 ; candlestick, .20 ; 1 pound candles, .22 ; 2 chairs, \$1.09 ; table, .33 ; half-bushel of apples, .25 ; 1 load of wood, \$1.00. The teamster deceived me in quality, not being acquainted with his dishonesty. Put my horse to pasture at Norwich for the term. Paid for my share of wood for the class, .15. Paid for my room, \$3.10 ; washing .75 for the term.

"*Nov. 9th.* The first term being closed, I set out for my journey to Haverhill. Paid toll at three gates: $7\frac{1}{2}$, $7\frac{1}{2}$, .9 = .24. Charges for turnpike toll, .3, $7\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$ = 17. Toll at the bridge, .8. For other expenses, lodging and horsekeeping .26 ; breakfast, .24 ; dinner etc .14. Put up at Chester A considerable of an earthquake that evening.

"*10th.* For lodging and horsekeeping, .38 ; toll, $6\frac{1}{2}$. Called at Atkinson, then came home. Found the folks all well.

"*Nov. 31.* Had an invitation to a ball ; conclude it would be folly to attend."

Greenleaf's diploma, a small parchment, signed by President Wheelock and eight trustees of Dartmouth College, and dated August 25, 1813, is in possession of Bradford Academy. Sometime between 1815 and 1818 he acquired an M.A., but we have no record of his connecting himself again with a college or university.

Graduating at the age of twenty-seven, and well equipped with teaching experience, he had no difficulty in finding employment. He taught the Haverhill Grammar School before Bradford Academy trustees secured him in December, 1814, and by so doing put the school on the surest foundation it had yet known.

We have no record of that first winter term, but to the first summer term which closed in June, 1815, belongs the honor

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of the first extant catalogue, a broadside which names the ten trustees and announces Benjamin Greenleaf, Preceptor ; Miss Charlotte Gage, Preceptress ; Miss Abigail Hasseltine, Assistant Preceptress. Below these names is a list of twenty-nine *Students* and beneath these a similar list of forty-six *Females*. A third of the "students" and more than half the "females" came from towns other than Bradford and Haverhill.

Of this year and the previous one we have the recollections of Mrs. Abby Kimball Bartlett, daughter of Bailey Bartlett.

"Miss Gage may have been a good teacher ; she was engaged to be married at that time to a clergyman, and perhaps her thoughts were far off. I remember that before one of our examinations she gave us the questions she proposed to ask us. The afternoon of the examination one of the trustees asked her for the book, so as to give the questions himself. We made a poor examination and were sadly mortified when he made the closing remarks." Happily Miss Gage's reputation was already secure as a teacher of painting on satin and velvet, and she suffered no more embarrassment from examinations, for the next season she resigned the position she had held for seven years, and married her minister, the Reverend William Gould, of Fairhaven, who had been a student at the Academy in 1811. Miss Hasseltine took her place and of her we shall hear presently.

It is best to include here the chief features of Mr. Greenleaf's teaching till he retired in 1836 when the "Male Apartment" was discontinued. During these twenty-one years about one thousand boys came under his teaching. Of the rank and file of these we know little except the names and dates, assiduously collected by Addison Brown, who, whenever possible, added college degrees and later addresses. It may help us to recreate that busy west room in the Academy and the boarding school life in the homes where the students lived, if we

THESE

Rev. Jonathan Allen,	Hon. John Varnum, Esq.
Rev Isaac Braman,	Mr Joseph Chadwick,
Col James Kimball,	Gen. John Henshaw,
Rev. Julius Dodge,	Rev. Gardner B. Perry,
Lieut. Edward Kimball.	Lieut. Maria Kimball.

BENJAMIN GREENLEAF, A. B. *Preceptor.*
Miss CHARLOTTE GAGE, *Preceptress.*
Miss ABIGAIL HASSETTINE, *Assistant.*

[illegible]

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know a little about the boys themselves. The broadside catalogues give the lodgings of the students, and an examination of these shows that Mrs. Rebecca Kimball, for instance, had six boys and six girls in her home, and the same was approximately true of most of the houses in the vicinity of the Academy. One understands why Benjamin Greenleaf built so large a house next door to the Academy after his marriage to Lucretia Kimball in 1821. Here are extracts from two letters of Horatio Hale to his sister in Barrington, N. H., written in August and September, 1819, while boarding in the home of Samuel Chadwick:

DEAR SISTER

I have got a very good boarding house have everything that is good to eat and drink and company enough both of gentlemen and ladies. Our preceptor appears to be a very fine man, but he has so much to attend to that he is almost crazy. Uncle William gave me 18 dollars I have money enough so your fears may be over about that. . . . I should have written to you before but I could not get time, for the preceptor will not let anyone write a letter in school, he gave me a lesson to get last evening much longer than I ever got before in a week I made out to get it but it took me till midnight. do write me as soon as you receive this. I have not seen but one person that I ever heard of before since I came from Dover.

It seems as if I had been here at least seven years and have not heard from any of my friends or relations. I was never so disappointed in any place in my life as I am in Bradford, they told me that it was a pleasant village but instead of that there is no village here and it seems to me the most lonesome place that I was ever in, there is not an apple in town that is fit to eat if I could have one dozen of our sweet apples I would give

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anything. . . . I almost wish I had gone to some other academy for there is so many studying latin that there cannot be due attention paid to English scholars. we have one hundred and forty schollars, sixty one gentlemen and seventy nine ladies and twenty three latin schollars. You must write to me or I shall certainly be homesick, direct your letters to the Haverhill post office as I have written several times before.

Your affectionate brother, H. S. HALE.

Horatio Hale's complaint about the Latin students crowding out the English scholars shows that Mr. Greenleaf was trying both to fit boys to go to college and to adapt the courses to those who would probably have no more schooling.

A few eminent names stand out among those "latin scholars." Rufus Anderson was earlier, and so was Ebenezer Bailey, who was the teacher of the first attempt at a Girls' High School in Boston. Among Greenleaf's boys who afterward studied law were Ira Perley of Boxford who became Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, John Tenney of Rowley of the Supreme Court in Maine, Jonathan Perkins from Essex who became a judge in Salem. Ministers and doctors abound on the lists. Two very real scholars were Calvin Stowe² (1818-1820) and Cornelius Felton (1821). Professor Stowe's boyhood furnishes one more story of an education gained by strenuous work, earning and studying, and working again. He probably earned most of the money which gave him two or three terms of Mr. Greenleaf's teaching, but he needed more courses before he could enter Bowdoin and a friend helped him to get the necessary schooling at Gorham Academy in Maine. We shall hear of him again in 1853 after he had gained a national reputation as a scholar and edu-

² *Barnard's Journal of Education*, vol. v, p. 586.

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cator. Of the boy Cornelius Felton at Bradford we know practically nothing, for he seems to have been obliged to complete his preparation for Harvard at the North Andover Academy under Simeon Putnam. However, it is not every girls' school that can claim as a former student, the most eminent Greek scholar of his day and President of Harvard College!

Notorious, if not eminent, was the name of Richard Crowninshield of Danvers, one of Mr. Greenleaf's boys of 1820 — notorious because convicted of murder by the eloquence of Daniel Webster in the celebrated White Murder Case. Mr. Greenleaf used to say grimly that one of his boys had been hung and no doubt others should have been. He never allowed any one else to sit at Dick Crowninshield's desk.

By yonder creaking window, dim with rust,
There was a vacant desk o'er spread with dust.
Doomed, gloomy seat we all remember that!
None could find place where Crowninshield had sat.³

Greenleaf's success as a teacher was due to his accurate memory, his own zest for knowledge, his kindly interest for his students, and to his sense of humor. To be sure, the student did not always see the humor in his rebuke. One day the master took into the girls' room a boy who had been guilty of some breach of good manners and formally introduced him as a model gentleman. But the next boy upon whom Greenleaf tried that method was equal to the situation, for he bowed gravely to the teachers and turned to the girls with a polite "How do you do, young ladies?" The preceptor laughed with the others on that occasion, as well as at an incident in his physics class, when he saw a boy holding on his desk the bright red locks of a little fellow sitting in front of him, and pounding them to emit sparks.

³ Semi-centennial poem, by James R. Nichols.

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In teaching he used few textbooks, partly from necessity, no doubt, but often because the books were not to his liking. Arithmetics were still scarce, but that made no difference to Greenleaf, for he dictated problems and made the students think for themselves, and his classes in mental arithmetic became famous before his textbooks were written. One must have a ready answer for such a question as " $\frac{3}{5}$ of 15 is $\frac{5}{7}$ of how many eighths of forty?" In the days when only colleges had laboratories, and those of the simplest variety, Greenleaf demonstrated the common phenomena of chemistry and physics by homemade apparatus; great was the joy when he made "laughing gas" which worked as predicted. His daughter, Mrs. Betsey Kendall, in writing of these experiments, said:

"A black bottle with a cork perforated by a pipe stem, both secured by putty, contained the material for making hydrogen gas; and with a glass tube skilfully held over the lighted escaping gas, he would make the 'Eolian harp' as he termed it."

He had been twelve years at the Academy before the trustees voted to spend fifty dollars on "philosophical apparatus." With his own money he bought a microscope, and in 1833 the school reimbursed him. He enjoyed geology and the outdoor explorations for materials. A homemade blowpipe served to analyze minerals for his classes. Astronomy was also a delight, particularly the mathematical calculations. The calculation of eclipses became a regular exercise in school for both boys and girls.

Greenleaf performed calculations for numerous almanacs, particularly those which had some philanthropic object. His favorite seems to have been the *Cherokee Mission* and his calculations for that curious publication he called his "missionary money." The extant copies for 1854-1860, printed partly

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in the strange script of Cherokee and partly in English, are mementoes of a bygone age, but the *Temperance Almanacs*, which also bear his name, strike a familiar note, although the woodcuts of the wife-beating husband and the starving children look a bit out of date.

Surveying was a part of the advanced arithmetic course, and it was made practical by experiment. It was a great event when the school purchased a theodolite. Map drawing was a very necessary part of the geography lessons, and the work was done with a professional finish such as is demanded in our technical schools today. Mr. Greenleaf was often employed in surveying boundaries in this vicinity. A map of Bradford in 1831 bears the inscription "Delineated by Jeremiah Spofford and Benjamin Greenleaf."

The master carried his scientific attitude into the teaching of English. For this purpose he published in 1825 a textbook of eight pages called *Rules of Syntax*, forty-three in number, not meant to "supersede the necessity of the students being thoroughly acquainted with Murray's *Grammar*." Mrs. Barrows⁴ recalled her awe at nine years when she memorized the first indispensable rule—*The nominative case governs the verb*, with the feeling that *governing* was the solemn duty of parents and kings. These sacred rules were the keys which unlocked the mysteries of the long, involved sentences of *Paradise Lost* and Thompson's *Seasons*.

The preceptor used to carry this formidable attack into the girls' room and there, standing in a long row, the "young ladies" solemnly parsed,

Of Man's disobedience and the fruit
Of that forbidden Tree, whose mortal taste —

⁴ *Memorial History*, p. 35.

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The same precision was the aim of the teaching of composition — at least that is the tradition. *A Concise System of Grammatical Punctuation*, by Benjamin Greenleaf, 1820, was followed by another edition to which was added *and rules of Syntax*, a very popular textbook in its day. Several of these little volumes have strayed back to Bradford Academy, bearing names of students, some of whom heard their own compositions read on Saturday mornings when Mr. Greenleaf brought the boys into the girls' room for the closing exercises of the week. That was an ordeal, especially for the girls, for the master was skilled in ironical criticism.

One day he called for extemporaneous composition and forbade both the use of "Time" as a subject, and hints or extracts from Murray's *Reader*. He must have been pleased by the following impromptu written by Mary Foster of Boxford in about 1823:

Again at this loved place I'm called upon to write,
 Pourtray my thoughts, put down in black and white;
At thoughts of this I stop and think I may
 By some pretensions pass the task away;
But conscience is not quiet at this thought
 Some other artifice must then be sought.
To books I could resort for they abound,
 In which a substitute might soon be found;
The book most familiar to my eyes,
 Good Mr. Murray's reading exercise,
I am forbid to use "as if it were my own,"
 Although the best I ever yet have known.
That never failing topic "Time" —
 I would take that to help my lagging rhyme,
But that's forbid; no resource is there left,
 So naught remains but to resign the pen
And hope 'twill do as well when called again.

Murray's *Reader* and others of its kind were filled with "didactick" selections which the students, "playing the sedu-

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lous ape," diluted and garbled into versions most boring to Mr. Greenleaf and Miss Hasseltine. It is taking an unfair advantage of a Bradford Academy boy of 1818-1820 to ridicule his efforts, for any secondary school teacher of English could furnish as platitudinous remarks on "Benefits of Athletics" or "Fair Play" as the following examples. In the interest of the history of education and with apology to the shade of Master Lilley Eaton, Jr., we select two from a group of manuscript compositions on these subjects: "Rural Pleasures; Friendship; On the Art of Pleasing; On Sympathy; Hope; Envy; 'The remembrance of past labors is pleasant;' 'Frustra laborat, qui omnibus placere studet;,' 'Which is the most injurious to Christianity, Superstition or Infidelity?'"

THE TEARS OF SCIENCE

Science has long continued to weep because of the inattention which exists in relation to her necessary, instructive precepts. People are very apt to neglect the attainment of useful information, and spend their time, either in indolence and sloth or in the pursuit of worldly possessions and pleasures. This causes literature to shed the scientific tear. Science weeps when she beholds the idle schoolboy, who needs the rod of correction to make him draw near to the desk of instruction.

And if force brings him near, the sight of his sluggish eyes, rolling far from the fountain of knowledge, and his thoughts wandering from place to place, make pity's tears flow abundantly.

Those who enter within the college walls merely for the sake of obtaining honor and dignity, whose preparatory months are spent with the utmost impatience, and whose collegial [*sic*] years seem to pass like centuries, are a grief to science.

Let us then, who have an opportunity, approximate the

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table of science and dry up her tears by being the loyal recipients of her useful knowledge, which will make us respected in society and serviceable to ourselves.

“Be Wise Today.” *Young.*

Wisdom very loud doth cry,
Both to you, my friend, and I
She uttereth forth a glorious voice,
And calls aloud to all, rejoice.

Whoso is simple to wisdom should turn,
And the way of understanding immediately learn;
The fear of the Lord doth Wisdom begin,
But the heart of the foolish is nothing but sin.

Perhaps Mr. Greenleaf’s encouragement of verse-making explains some of the productions in a little autograph album belonging in 1824 to George Penniman of Dedham, whose boy friends expressed sentiments as flowery as their “art of chi-rography.” Here is a small sample:

By the hour of our parting thus sweetly delayed,
By truth that is tried and by love unbetrayed,
I will not forget thee till life’s latest ray
In the dark bed of death shall have faded away.

It is something of a shock to find in the hundred-year-old album effusions written by future physicians, judges, and doctors of divinity, quite as sentimental as those in the girls’ books.

In connection with the preceptor’s teaching of grammar and composition in the girls’ department a little story lies hidden beneath two brief entries in the records of the business meetings of the trustees:

“*April* 20, 1819, Voted, that Mr. Greenleaf be requested to confine himself to the first class in English Grammar, while in the female apartment, and that he spend only one quarter of an hour in the day with that class.”

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Did Miss Hasseltine know a better way to begin grammar? Was her saint-like patience occasionally exhausted by the preceptor's taking more than his share of time? Did an irate parent complain to a trustee that his daughter's feelings had been completely crushed by the teacher's sarcasm? Did Mr. Greenleaf obey the injunction? Any way, he had a long memory, for ten years later, after he had been a trustee himself seven years:

"*March 3, 1829, Voted to erase from the second part of the vote passed April 20, 1819, 'and that he spend only one quarter of an hour with that class,' so that the vote will stand thus, viz. Voted, that Mr. Greenleaf be requested to confine himself to the first class in English Grammar while in the female department.*"

Nobody ever accused him of doing *less* than was expected of him, and he continued to teach that grammar class after the two departments were entirely separated in 1828 till he was "relieved" in 1831.

For his tireless labors his salary was according to these terms: Voted in 1816, "to give Mr. Greenleaf 400 dollars a year on condition that there is 30 schollars in his apartment; and if there be more than thirty, he shall have one half the surplus, in addition to the 400 dollars; and when the number falls short of thirty, one half will be deducted out of the 400 dollars."

In 1819 the salary was made \$500 on the same terms. It is good to remember that the number exceeded thirty up to a few years before his department was closed in 1836. In those later years of his preceptorship he was not only a trustee (not *ex-officio*) — a rather surprising relationship between a board of trustees and a principal — but he was constantly in demand as a lecturer on scientific subjects. He himself said

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"I used to be the most popular lecturer on Chemistry in Essex County ; why? because I was the only one." Meantime he was active in assisting in the formation of Teachers' Associations. A vote of the trustees July, 1830, was to the effect that "Mr. Greenleaf and Miss Hasseltine have the privilege of attending the *meeting of Instructors* in Boston." His reputation had reached the south and west. Tempting offers came to him from Tennessee and Georgia before he had married and built his house, but he recognized his opportunity in Bradford and the advantages of working with Abigail Hasseltine whose aims in academic and religious education were so like his own.

When the time came for discontinuing his department in the Academy, he accepted the situation and carried on for a short time a Teachers' Seminary, but occupied himself chiefly in preparing the textbooks in mathematics which made his name synonymous with arithmetic and algebra the country over. Some of us supposed that Greenleaf's arithmetic was so called for its green pasteboard cover. More than a million copies of his *National Arithmetic* were sold, and some of his books were translated into modern Greek and even into Burmese.

We may think of him during these years and till his death in 1864 as living on in the big house next to the Academy, while he carried on his training school for teachers, and served the town on the school committee or as Representative in the General Court. His garden and fine fruit trees tempted many a boy and girl, and the high board fence, built for obvious reasons, enhanced the value of his apples and pears. Perhaps the students who filled the house in term-time knew just how good the grapes and apples were, for surely Mrs. Greenleaf was too busy with her own large family and boarders to watch the garden. The home was a happy one but for the fact that

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of the four boys who were born there, three of them christened Benjamin, not one lived to carry on the name. Three daughters survived their father and mother: Emily, Mrs. John Tewksbury; Betsey, Mrs. S. C. Kendall; and Lydia, Mrs. S. K. Sykes. It is to the vivid memories of Mrs. Kendall, so like her father in many respects, that we owe many of the facts about the early history of the Academy.

CHAPTER IX

MISS HASSELTINE AND HER GIRLS

THE main question which a history of Bradford Academy should answer is — how did it happen that a co-educational academy became a school for the higher education of young women? The answer can be reduced to one name — Abigail Hasseltine. Her growth to womanhood coincided with the early development of the Academy, and her maturity happily synchronized with the great movement for the education of women in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. She must have rejoiced at the beginnings of Byfield Seminary (1818), Adams Academy in Derry, N. H. (1822), Ipswich Seminary (1826), and Abbot Academy (1829), and she no doubt knew their educational programs as they developed. Since, however, she began her work at Bradford in 1815, we may be able to discover to what extent her success was due to her own ability and early training.

We have already seen the Hasseltine home, the broad-minded, public-spirited father and the mother who, in spite of ill health, managed her large household with quiet system and always found time for reading. Abigail was the third of the four daughters. Mary, the eldest, was the able assistant of her mother. Rebecca, the second daughter, showed as a child unusual ability and so early fitted herself to be a teacher that she was asked to take charge of the Byfield school where, as we have already learned, an experiment in "female education" was going on. Abigail, unlike her sisters, was far from brilliant as a little girl; indeed, the story is that she could not talk at all till she was four years old, but that she then spoke with ease all at once. Slow also in learning to read, she seems



ABIGAIL CARLETON HASSELTINE

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to have been preoccupied and diffident. When, however, at the age of twelve, she was introduced to the wonders of arithmetic, she suddenly blossomed out as a real scholar. Her sister Nancy, younger by less than two years, was her closest companion, and that captivating charm which everyone felt in the younger girl no doubt retarded the self-expression of the older sister. She once said that when they were together in company she let Nancy do the talking.

Abigail was fifteen when, with Mary and Rebecca, she entered the Academy on its opening day. The next year her beloved Nancy joined her and together they studied their arithmetic, geography, grammar, and history, and decorated their writing books with delicate flourishes. A beautiful piece of fine embroidery attributed to Nancy's skill has survived the years, while Abigail's highly praised penmanship has been preserved in a few letters of a later period. How did the sisters enjoy being taught by their former fellow students, Harriet Webster and Betsey Allen? Perhaps the serious atmosphere of Mr. Burnham's preceptorship precluded any infringement on the dignity of the young preceptresses. The girls were so eager to learn they surely took advantage of the opportunities of the winter terms, joining their brothers in the "male apartment" under the teaching of the preceptor.

One cannot help hoping that all four sisters enjoyed those "frolicings and dancings" in the family ballroom before the devastating revival of Mr. Burnham's time. Abigail's tender conscience, like Nancy's, responded at once to his appeals, and, more reticent than her sister, she tortured herself for four months before she felt sure that she was an accepted disciple of the Master she had been serving since her infancy. It was like her practical nature never to raise the question again; she had an admirable confidence in her own rightness of pur-

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pose as well as a living faith in her Saviour. The more she studied the more she wished to fit herself for the intellectual and religious training of children, opportunities for which she saw all about her. To be a teacher — that was her ambition. Between terms at Bradford Academy she taught school here and there, gaining experience and confidence. Her going to teach in Beverly may have been occasioned by the fact that her sister Rebecca had married in 1810 the Reverend Joseph Emerson, minister of the Congregational Church in that town.

Mr. Emerson had also been a teacher, with decided views of his own, both on the profession of teaching and the need of opportunities for girls. Abigail found that her brother-in-law, a man of recognized scholarship and ability, believed that the usual education that women received in New England was far below their capacity; that they should pursue the same solid subjects as men; that they themselves should be the creators of schools where teachers could be trained. That was a call to which she must listen. When Nancy, who had been with her in Beverly, decided to go on her great mission, probably never to return, Abigail did not doubt the ultimate wisdom of her choice, but she knew that her own form of service must be different. The time came for parting. Abigail absented herself from school and went to Salem to share the last precious days before the *Caravan* sailed. Who shall say how much of the idealism of Abigail's life was the result of her sister Nancy's high resolve, and how much, as a teacher, she owed to Mr. Emerson?

Her next venture in teaching was in a rural charity school in Great Rock, a village at the corners of Byfield, Rowley and Newbury. This school was one of those supported by the Philendian Society, a home missionary enterprise of great practical value. For six months Abigail gave herself unstintingly

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to the neglected children of that community and at the end of that time was so worn out that she had to stop. Rest and change soon brought back her usual health, so that when the trustees of Bradford Academy invited her in the spring of 1815 to assist the preceptress, Miss Gage, she accepted.

On the first day the boys and girls assembled for the opening exercises in the girls' room, while Mr. Greenleaf and Miss Gage took their places behind the desk. No chair for the new assistant preceptress! The students' desks were fastened to the floor. Somebody ran out and borrowed a chair, probably from the Hasseltine kitchen, and from this modest seat near the platform Miss Hasseltine made her debut. Her happy combination of natural dignity and sense of humor relieved the situation, and she always enjoyed telling the incident in after years. On Miss Gage's departure the next term, Miss Hasseltine was made preceptress. Had she at twenty-three realized the height of her ambition? For the next twenty-one years she was the preceptress, associated with Mr. Greenleaf "of equal rank," the trustees voted, "but Mr. Greenleaf being Principal"; for the following seventeen she was to be principal; for the closing fifteen years of her life she was to be honorary principal; a total of fifty-eight years of official connection with Bradford Academy.

Yet such an incredible length of time means little without some index of the achievement which filled it. The outstanding features of her work may be graphically shown by a brief statement of contrasts between conditions when she began in 1815 and those of 1853 when she resigned her active principalship. In 1815 her position was nominally subordinate to that of the preceptor, though she was practically free. She taught without assistance seventy-seven girls, packed into one small room, the common English subjects, with history, nee-

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dlework and drawing. There was no grading of classes, no planned course of study, no graduation. This teaching she must confine to two summer terms, April to August, and August to November, while in the winter she assisted the preceptor if he needed her. In 1853 she was the sole head of a school of two hundred and thirty-nine girls with a faculty of twelve, occupying the new academy building erected largely by her efforts, where were eight rooms and an assembly hall, and nearby a boarding house already inadequate for the housing of students. A regular course of study of four years leading to the diploma included considerable work of collegiate grade. The increase of numbers meant also an increase of representation from various parts of the country which is shown in the following table:

YEAR	NO. OF GIRLS	PER CENT FROM BRADFORD AND HAVERHILL	PER CENT FROM OTHER MASS. TOWNS	PER CENT FROM OTHER STATES
1815	77	48 per cent	34 per cent	18 per cent
1849	239	29 " "	35 " "	36 " "

None of this could she anticipate, but she had her dreams. Meantime she faced an intolerably crowded condition in her schoolroom. In two years the trustees were forced to double the size of the room so that a hundred girls could be accommodated there, and they also fitted it for use on examination days and for the exhibition, a ceremony formerly held in the church.¹

Mrs. Betsey Greenleaf Kendall has left us a description of one of those formidable occasions typical of the period when Mr. Greenleaf and Miss Hasseltine reigned jointly. The trustees came; some of them solemnly examined the boys in Mr. Greenleaf's room while others harrowed the feelings of the girls across the hall. Faith in both the preceptor and the pre-

¹ Ground plan, facing page 56.

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ceptress makes one believe that the examination never got really out of the hands of the teachers, but there was always the possibility that a new trustee would take his duty literally. After this long ordeal, and everybody had dined, they gathered again, with many more visitors, in the large east room. Into the long pew filed the trustees, led, says Mrs. Kendall, "by the venerable Mr. Braman, President of the Board, accompanied by the speaker of the day (who once, I remember was Dr. Lyman Beecher). Then followed the resident clergymen, Dr. Perry of the East Parish, and dear old Mr. Hoadley. . . . Then Deacon Noyes of Boston, to whom we owe the introduction of music. Next to him was Deacon Eliphalet Kimball of Boston with his immaculate ruffle and benign face. . . . After these came the Bradford members. . . . The south end of the room was filled by the stage, at the end of which nearest the trustees, sat Mr. Greenleaf nervously thrusting his hand through his heavy hair as he watched his boys declaim the pieces in which he had drilled them.

"Miss Hasseltine often stood at her desk through the first part of the exercises, clad in her blue-black silk, with spotted lace folded about her neck, her face shaded by a new cap, and beckoned with her long slender finger to Mrs. Col. A. or Dr. B. or Mrs. Judge C. who were possibly a little late, and for whom room must be found near the throne. . . . The students were packed closely, narrow boards with cleats being put across the aisles so that every inch of space was occupied, and the extra seats filled with guests, many of whom had come by stage or private carriage from Boston, Portland, Newburyport or Salem."

One hopes that cool weather favored such an occasion as that of July 22, 1834, for which the program is extant. It consists of twenty-three recitations, two being original, an address by a visiting celebrity, and an original hymn.

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This date anticipates some of the changes Miss Hasseltine was slowly bringing about under the inspiration of her brother-in-law's ideas. In 1818 Mr. Emerson had resigned from his church in Beverly — perhaps because of his health, perhaps because of his greater interest in teaching — had bought the school building in Byfield where his wife had taught, and established there a "female seminary" — and this only nine miles away from Bradford Academy. In this undertaking his wife Rebecca had a large share both in the management of the school and the teaching. In the three years he kept the Byfield Seminary Mr. Emerson attacked vigorously the practice of memorizing lessons and substituted topical study and discussion. Many textbooks had been made up solely of questions like the catechism. TOPICS now came into vogue, and appeared as a method of recitation in the Bradford catalogues. Mr. Emerson was unwilling, he said, "to overwork Latin and Greek," but he believed that language (including literature) was the "study of studies." He set his students to reading the poets without ruining their enjoyment of Cowper, Young, and Milton by merely parsing long passages. He lectured on history, recommending to his students Goldsmith, Gibbon, and Hume for reading. His new gospel of teaching drew many young women; among these, as everyone knows, Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon, both of them mature and already experienced as teachers. No records of Byfield Seminary survive except in reminiscences and surmises, for Mr. Emerson never succeeded in putting his school on a permanent basis. In 1822 he moved it to Saugus, and later to Weathersfield, Conn., where his wife Rebecca carried it on for sometime after his death in 1833. His educational theories had a lasting influence through Miss Grant, who with Miss Lyon's assistance successfully opened and carried on Adams Academy in Derry, N. H., the first

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endowed school for girls in that state. After six years in Derry they came to Ipswich and at the time when Miss Hasseltine was getting independent control of her department, Miss Grant and Miss Lyon took charge of Ipswich Seminary.

While these interesting experiments were going on nearby, Miss Hasseltine was struggling with her own practical problems of space for teaching and for boarding facilities for her girls. Even in her enlarged room she and her two assistants could not hold simultaneous recitations. In 1828 a small one-roomed building was put up behind the Academy and there Miss Hasseltine had her recitations, except those like the Monday Bible class, which concerned all the girls at once.

There were two other related needs which Miss Hasseltine frequently pressed upon the attention of the trustees. One was the complete separation of the two departments, and the other was a dormitory for the increasing number of girls who came from a distance. The former would allow her to plan a regular course of study and the latter would provide housing during the whole school year. She could then continue the school throughout the year under her own supervision and check the girls' habit of flitting from one school to another. The trustees considered these two needs together, and July 29, 1828, adopted two resolutions; first, that the two departments should be entirely separated in all exercises; second, that it was "desirable to erect such other buildings as would accommodate all young ladies from abroad with suitable boarding and rooms, and to place them under such supervision while out of school as may promote their good." The first was easier to carry out than the second which called for cash. Although the sustaining fund could supply enough for a building, it did not seem wise to draw too heavily upon that source,

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so once more it was suggested that the state might give aid. One of the few extant manuscript letters of Miss Hasseltine tells of this errand to Boston.

Boston Feb. 7, 1827.

I arrived here, Mr Greenleaf, about seven in the evening. Found Mr. Kimball's family all gone to meeting. Went to Mr. Peabody's and conversed with him about our business. He called on Dr. Phelps, and appointed a quarter before nine the next morning for me to visit him. At the appointed time called on Dr. Phelps this morning, and found him willing to do anything that was in his power for our school. He *seemed* to feel an interest for us, as much, or more, than I expected. Remarked he would act in every respect as our representative. I suppose you have received the Dr's letter and sent by the stage today a petition. The question was not acted upon today. It is his opinion that nothing at present will be given to any school; for a good reason that there is nothing to give. But remarked, should anything be given at a future day, those schools that first threw in their petitions, would probably first receive attention.

I shall know in a day or two, how the resolution is disposed of, and will inform you the first opportunity.

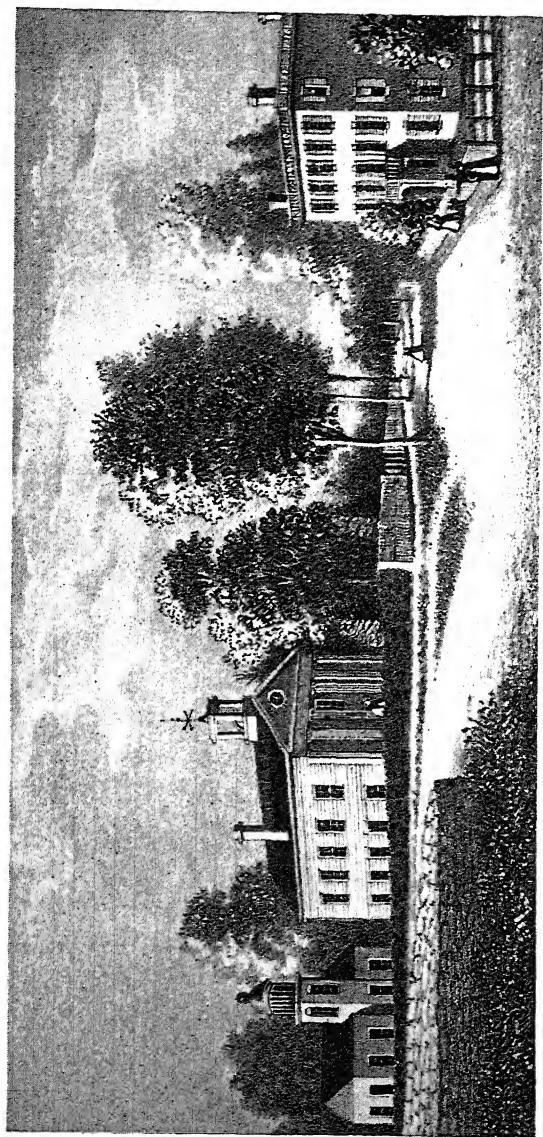
I shall send this by Capt. Thurston.

Mrs. H. sends her love to Mrs. Greenleaf and family.

I presume you have seen Dr. Mainard.

A. C. HASSELTINE.

No money was forthcoming from the state, so there was considerable delay before the boarding house became a reality. Not till November, 1830, was it possible to continue the girls' department through the winter and to house a majority of them in the new brick dormitory across the street from the Academy. The boys continued to gather in decreasing num-



BRADFORD ACADEMY, 1803 BRADFORD ACADEMY, 1841

BOARDING HOUSE

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bers for the next six years, but it would seem that they were drawn solely by the fame of Mr. Greenleaf which was perhaps thought to be a necessary buttress for the support of Miss Hasseltine's department. Nevertheless so independent was her school in the winter of 1830 that it had its own catalogue and course of study.

In the light of the later history of Bradford Academy it is difficult to understand the opposition of some of the original donors and their descendants to the erection of the dormitory. Yet such a difference of views in regard to school policy almost inevitably occurs when an institution has developed beyond the ideas of the first promoters. A remonstrance signed by twelve Bradford men and women stated in dignified and earnest language that, according to their views, the trustees had no right to use for the building of a boarding house funds donated for maintaining a school chiefly for Bradford boys and girls, and that it would be a further perversion of funds if the trustees should decide to make the Academy a school for girls alone.

The yellow old manuscript of this petition, dated April, 1829, and bearing twelve signatures, is no less interesting than the reply of the trustees in the microscopic handwriting of the president, the Reverend Isaac Braman. It seems that owing to the infrequency of trustees' meetings the remonstrance had not been officially received till after the funds had been appropriated and plans had gone too far to be changed, even if the trustees had wished to alter them. Mr. Braman said further that there were remaining in the treasury, funds amounting to as much as the original donations, because the school had prospered beyond their expectations. He pointed out that "the erection of a building for the accommodation of females was thought expedient from the circumstance that they were

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not always able to find places to board," that the trustees were by the act of incorporation responsible for the welfare of the school, and while they were fallible, like other men, they must take such action as they deemed wise. They had no present design to convert the school into a female academy, but they hoped that they would ever have the "wisdom to direct and act under a sense of accountability to Him whose eyes are over all and who looketh on the heart."

So it came about that Miss Hasseltine at the age of forty-two found added cares but was free to carry out her plans for the welfare of her girls very much as Miss Grant and Miss Lyon were doing in Ipswich, as Mrs. Willard was doing in Troy, and Miss Beecher in Hartford. Do you see her, "tall and slender, a fine figure, heavy braids of hair put around a large comb, and worn high on the head, interesting in appearance but not handsome, with an air of conscious dignity"? Her pupils liked her all the better for her known weakness for good clothes. From the Hasseltine homestead, a few rods up the street, she used to walk into the west room of the Academy early in the morning, hang up on the peg behind her desk her shawl and bonnet, or calash according to the season, ready for a long day's work. She must now frequently visit the dormitory to see that due respect was paid to the Academy property, for students the world over always accept their dormitory surroundings as their own. There could have been nothing mercenary in her desire to add a term to the year, for her salary was infinitesimal at best. Five years earlier the trustees had informed her that she was considered as a permanent instructress, and that she should receive such addition to her salary as the committee could agree upon, probably one dollar a week more. In the winter of 1830 she and her two assistants, Miss Sarah Kimball and Miss Charlotte Harris, were to have

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the tuition fees for their salaries, and "were to be at all expense for supporting the school." Tuition for the term was six dollars with Latin one dollar more. Board including washing was \$1.75 a week; "fuel and lights a separate charge."

These items are quoted from the tiny pamphlet catalogue for the winter of 1830, the first one in which an ungraded course of study is outlined and textbooks named. The last statement is, "Ladies who attend this winter are requested, if convenient, to take with them Scott's or Henry's Commentary or both, on the Book of Judges."

Bringing your own Bible Commentary meant, of course, that Bible study was the bulwark of the school. Miss Hasseltine was so familiar with the text of the Bible that she made it vividly interesting. Stories, characters, topography, all became clear to her students. No critical study of the text troubled her, so, inspired by her enthusiasm, her students constructed the Tabernacle and the Temple and wrote sketches of biblical characters, but woe to those who did not search their Bible first! "Be rich in Scripture, young ladies!" she used to exhort them. She planned this instruction with the purpose of bringing home to each student her need of personal religion, and she never allowed herself to forget her own responsibility for the spiritual welfare of each girl.

Glimpses of Miss Hasseltine's Christian zeal as well as many other aspects of Bradford life can be caught from two very different letters dated 1818, twelve years before the dormitory was built.

The first is from Abigail Wight, of Bristol, R. I., to her mother. The second was written by Hannah Pearson from her home in Newburyport to Abigail Wight, still in school (Miss Wight married Byron Diman who was governor of Rhode Island, 1846).

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Bradford Academy, (October) 19, 1818

This morning while in school, my dear Mother, I received your very welcome letter. That it was a luxury to me you cannot doubt; and this evening having nearly committed my studies for tomorrow, notwithstanding it is most gone, the remainder of it shall be devoted to writing to one of the best of Mothers. . . .

As my studies are all new to me and require much attention, I have but little time to write or do anything else, but that little time shall be improved to the best advantage by writing to my absent friends. I am afraid that you will say, if I pay so much attention to my studies that I shall certainly make considerable progress in them; do not expect this and you will not be disappointed.

I was glad to hear of the safe arrival of Father and Sister Alice at New York. . . . I know you must be lonesome without them. . . . I think much about you and the family, and often in imagination see you seated with little Fanny in your lap, and Martha and Clarissa around you. . . .

The school here is really excellent. The more I go the better I am pleased with it. There have been upwards of a hundred young ladies here this term, and I never was in a school where the scholars attended to so many studies and are so studious as they are here. Such a large number of scholars employed in such a variety of occupations one would suppose would cause *some* noise, but there is very *little*. The rules of the school are very strict and are observed without difficulty.

After this term, the girls will go into Mr. Greenleaf's apartment, as there is no female instructress in the winter. I should like very much to stay and very well to go, but will leave it entirely for you and Father to decide. . . . The privileges here

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are very great for acquiring knowledge, if they are rightly improved. . . .

Yesterday Mr. Perry minister of the other parrish, preached a sermon to the scholars in the Academy, there is generally one preached in the middle of every term; it was a very solemn and impressive discourse, the scholars were very serious and steady, last term several obtained a hope, our instructors are truly faithful, daily do we receive moral as well as literary instruction from them. . . .

This term closes the 17th of November which is three weeks from next Tuesday. I can scarcely realize that I have been at Bradford nearly six weeks. . . . The family in which I board is a very pleasant one and the boarders are so much so that I shall feel very unpleasant at parting with them at the end of the quarter.

If you could only know how gratifying it is to see among the letters which are daily brought into the school for scholars, one of them for me, I am sure you would spend every spare moment you could get in writing and not think it spent in vain. I have lately joined a society called the *Female Association* (The Auxiliary Society for the Education of Pious Young Men), it consists chiefly of the scholars, they meet saturday afternoon for the purpose of sewing for the poor students and they likewise work ruffles and braid straw and appropriate the profits to benevolent use.

If you have a good opportunity I should like to have you send me a cotton shawl, if you think I had better stay the next quarter, to wear to school; if you think it safe you can send me some money by mail. I can make what I have answer untill I get to Boston. Vacation will be a fortnight [long], and I think I had better go as soon after the examination as I can get ready, and go by way of Newburyport, as Miss Pearson

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and Miss Seccomb, two of the young ladies that board with me, have invited me to spend a day or two with them. . . . I wish often that Martha was here with me. I know she would love Miss Hasseltine and Miss Parker, the more I am with them the better I like them. Do not let anyone see this lengthy scribble. The days next term will be short and cold, but if I stay, I shall try to get boarded near the Academy.

You must not expose the faults of your daughter

ABBY.

Newburyport, Dec. 24, 1818.

MY DEAR MISS WIGHT,

Since the painful hour when I was called to impart to you the farewell salutation, fond memory has often loved to dwell on scenes transacted the Autumn past. At the *beloved seminary* of which I presume you are now a member, we have together received instruction from the same worthy tutors, have traversed the paths of literature, tasted the sweets of science, and participated in each other's joys and sorrows. Oft have we perused the pages of that invaluable book, the *bible*, oft unitedly traced the annals of recorded time, and, wrapt in profound contemplation, have reflected on the astonishing beauty of the planetary system. . . . Our instructors have warned us of the dangers attendant on those who pursue the paths of sin and folly. . . . they have pointed us to the narrow path of life, that we might pursue it. . . .

I regret the loss of your beloved society, and long again to behold that engaging countenance, and see that amiable expression of affection, which adds a zest to your numerous personal attractions. . . . I should like to have you visit us when you leave Bradford. You must write to me as soon as you receive this and tell me where you board, what studies occupy

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your attention, when you expect to go to Boston, &c. &c. I should like to have you send your letters by stage.

Sarah Ann desires her love to you, and sends you a piece of her hair. I have also sent my composition with a piece of my hair, You must send me a piece of yours in your letter. . . . Do not show this letter to anyone. The writing is very bad; but you must excuse it as my fingers are very cold.

Yours with affection,

HANNAH.

Letter writing on Sunday was not forbidden, *but no one was allowed to mail a letter on Monday*. Therefore hours must be stolen, as always, since boarding schools first began. Maria Ames of Chelmsford writing to her friend Sarah Ann Adams of Charlestown on October 9, 1823, says:

"It is now the solemn hour of midnight. All nature seems asleep around me. Nothing can be heard save the breathing of those around me, which added to the dismal appearance of my writing, tells me I must soon close. I fancy at this dull hour that I can hear you say, I should think Maria had wrote enough if she can write no better. About a fortnight ago we had a vacation of a whole day which I had intended to devote to writing to you and Lucy Fisher, but I had a composition eighteen pages in History, and as many in Philosophy, a lesson in Grammar, and one in arithmetic to get, so the whole day passed and your letters still unanswered."

Closely allied to Miss Hasseltine's Bible teaching was her activity in awakening missionary interest. Within a few years of the departure of Nancy Judson and Harriet Newell, several girls started on similar noble adventures. Ann Parker, a student of 1818, had been an assistant of Miss Hasseltine's four years before she married the Reverend Mr. Bird and de-

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cided to go with him to Beirut. She was greatly loved by the girls and when she was leaving, an admiring pupil wrote a poem, a dirge in heroic couplets so mournful, so at variance with the adventurous spirit of the young couple, that one wonders how they could endure reading it. Yet was it strange that of all sentiments expressed in the verse of the day, the religious was the most dismal? They all memorized and sang,

Hark, from the tombs a doleful sound,
Mine ears attend the cry;
Ye living men, come view the ground
Where you must shortly lie.

It is heartening to know that Mr. and Mrs. Bird lived to celebrate their golden wedding, surrounded by children and grandchildren.

When Mary Christie, another girl of 1818, married the Reverend Mr. Spaulding and went to Ceylon, the girls asked them to select two children, a boy and a girl, for Bradford girls to support, and they stipulated that the boy should be called Parker Kimball Hasseltine and the girl Fanny Baker for two of their fellow students who had recently died. To put the plan on a working basis they organized *The Sister Circle of Bradford Academy*. A manuscript copy of its constitution and a list of members lies before me, a living witness of the enthusiasm of this *student movement*.

The visit of Nancy Judson in 1822 gave joy not only to her family but to the school as well. She entertained them with accounts of life in Burmah, and wore herself out, as many a missionary on furlough has since done, by speaking to groups of friends, till she was sent south for her health before her return to Burmah.

Thus Miss Hasseltine fostered the missionary interest, and she never lost sight of her highest aim — to bring each stu-

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dent to an acknowledgment of Christ as a personal Saviour, yet with this zeal she had a profound respect for, and understanding of each girl. This balance of religious fervor and common sense won the love of the Bradford girls of half a century.

CHAPTER X

THREE NEIGHBORS

IPSWICH, ABBOT AND BRADFORD

THE complete separation of the two departments of Bradford Academy, the increase of the school year to three full terms, and the housing of the girls in the new dormitory, are so unmistakably marks of a new era that we may use the winter of 1830 as the date for the beginning of Bradford Academy as a school for the higher education of young women. Free to plan a whole year's program, Miss Hasseltine immediately began to map out a continuous course of study for three or four years. Since the time of this new beginning at Bradford was within a few months of the re-opening of Ipswich Seminary under Miss Grant and Miss Lyon, and the birthday of Abbot Academy at Andover in May, 1829, some comparison of the three schools in their first decade has some educational interest; and the fact that they were within twenty miles of each other leads one to look for a common origin of some features of each. It is not safe, however, to assume that there was much personal intercourse between the schools; each blazed its own trail without "conferences" or "Headmistress Associations."

So many educational fires were being kindled in the twenties and thirties that it is impossible to speak dogmatically about origins, but it is unthinkable that any man or woman responsible for the teaching of girls should not have read, and his imagination been kindled by Emma Willard's "Address" (1819) in which she petitioned the New York legislature to provide funds for the higher education of women comparable with the colleges for men. Without bitterness but with ringing clear-

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ness she pointed out the unfairness of sending the boy to college and allowing him on his return to find his sister "a common drudge who weeps at his neglect," and showed the stupidity of expecting uneducated women to rear children to true citizenship. Her sketch of a "female seminary," such as she was trying to carry on herself, pictures an incorporated school with modern facilities for housing and study, just such conditions as Miss Hasseltine longed to see in Bradford.

Mrs. Willard's curriculum was then far in advance of others for girls, but we shall find many of its best points in the earliest published programs of Ipswich, Bradford, and Abbot.

Ten years after Mrs. Willard set the ears of New York legislators, school trustees, teachers, and parents to ringing, another voice rang out — this time from Connecticut. Catharine Beecher, educated as we remember at Miss Pierce's school in Litchfield, established a very successful day-school in 1823 in Hartford. Cramped for space and funds she addressed to her trustees "Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education," which they very wisely published in 1829 and circulated freely. Miss Beecher protested that most mothers and teachers knew nothing of the human body and still less of the mind; that the existing textbooks were incomprehensible to children; that no attempt was made to train teachers; but it was her belief that there was no defect not subject to remedy. She wished to send out teachers by the hundreds to destitute children of the nation, and to train the "superfluous women of the East" for teaching in the West. This last aim was stressed at Ipswich, Abbot, and Bradford and was carried out with most success for a short period at Ipswich.

It is therefore already clear that the influence of these public appeals, coming from women whose success was recognized, was felt in the common aims and to some extent the common

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policies of the three schools we are considering. We know that the soil was prepared for such seed at Bradford, and we must now explore a little at Ipswich and Andover.

Space forbids the telling of the whole story of Zilpah Grant, the faithful follower of Joseph Emerson's ideals, the resourceful builder of Ipswich Seminary. Her biographers consider her more original than her able collaborator, Mary Lyon, but she certainly could not have accomplished her task without Miss Lyon who took Miss Grant's place during her frequent long absences. Had not ill health and the failure of the trustees to create a permanent school forced her to give it up in 1839, Ipswich Seminary might have been a rival, as it was a forerunner of Mount Holyoke Seminary.

Miss Grant and Miss Lyon were fortunate in finding a home in the parsonage of Rev. David Tenny Kimball, the president of the Seminary trustees. He also received some of the students, for there was no dormitory. It is a tribute to the strong personalities of the two women that they in a short time created a wonderful *esprit de corps* among the hundred or more young women scattered over the village — the same problem as at Bradford before 1830. In the Ipswich catalogue of 1830 Miss Grant stated her aims:

"The primary branches of knowledge are pursued thoroughly in the lower classes. These branches are, however, reviewed in the higher classes with a direct view to prepare the young ladies to teach. Instruction is given in the manner of communicating knowledge, of awakening attention, of exciting inquiry, of arousing the indolent, of encouraging the diffident, of humbling the self-confident, of cultivating the conscience, of regulating the conduct, and of improving the whole character.

"The young ladies prepare for recitations in their rooms

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and no more than two study in one room, excepting in cold weather, when in some cases three or four, but no more than four, study by one fire."

Miss Grant and Miss Lyon knew well the problems of young teachers who came to them in such numbers, for they had both begun teaching in their teens — Miss Grant at fourteen in a log schoolhouse in Connecticut. She divided the school into sections, each under a teacher who acted as advisor, watching the health, studies, conduct, and spirit of her group of girls, one teacher to about twenty girls. In 1836 she announced in the catalogue:

"Those who have already had some experience in teaching will have opportunity to discuss with each other and with their teachers, Misses Grant and Lyon, their various opinions on modes of teaching and their effect, by arousing different motives for action, produced on character.

"Those who wish to practice calisthenics, a system of exercises suited to promote health, graceful motion, and agreeable manners, will have the opportunity."

In this she anticipated physical education at Bradford. For vocal music she enlisted the interest and reputation of Lowell Mason who assisted in building up that important department.

When the united efforts of the trustees and the two heads of the seminary failed to secure the necessary funds for the permanent establishment of Ipswich Seminary, and Miss Grant's health gave out, Miss Lyon refused to be beaten in the great cause of the education of women to which she had dedicated her life. There were too many girls begging for schools of higher rank. She helped form the plans for Wheaton Seminary (1835) and its first principal was Eunice Caldwell, an Ipswich student. We cannot here follow the enticing path

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which led to the unparalleled success of Mount Holyoke Seminary and College, but we can read in Miss Lyon's own statement where she found her plan and standards.

"A long list of branches to be taught can be no standard at all. . . . In a seminary for females, we cannot as in the education of the other sex, refer to established institutions whose course of study and standards of mental discipline are known to every literary man in the land. . . . We simply say that the course of study and standards of female culture will be the same as that of Hartford Seminary, Ipswich Seminary, Troy Seminary or of some other institution that has stood as long and ranked as high as these seminaries.

"It is to adopt the same slow, thorough and patient manner of study [as Ipswich], the same course of solid branches."

This brings us to the curriculum itself, surely an important theme, if it was the one to be adopted in Miss Lyon's great experiment. And here appears what seems at first a coincidence, namely, the almost exact identity of the Ipswich curriculum in the catalogue of 1838 and that of Bradford in 1839, the first time that Miss Hasseltine published it as a three years' course.

The following is the Bradford course, 1839:

	<i>First Year</i>
Written Arithmetic	Greenleaf's
Algebra commenced	Colburn's
English Grammar	Murray's
Modern and Ancient Geography	Woodbridge's Univ. Geog. and Atlas, and Worcester's Ancient Atlas
Government of the U. S.	Sullivan's Political Class Book
Modern and Ancient History	Worcester's Elements of History, Grimshaw's France and Goldsmith's England
Botany commenced	Phelps'
Improvement of the Mind	Watts'
Philosophy commenced	Blakewell's
Outline of Geology	Mather's

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Second Year

English Grammar cont.	Murray's
Algebra concluded	Colburn's
Trigonometry	Greenleaf's
Rhetoric commenced	Blair's and Newman's
Human Physiology	Comstock's
Euclid's Geometry	Simson's
Botany concluded	Beck's
Natural Philosophy concl.	Olmsted's
Chemistry	Jones'
Astronomy	Burritt's Geog. of the Heavens and Vose or Wilkin's
Philosophy of Nat. History	Smellie's
Intellectual Philosophy	Upham's and Abercrombie's

Third Year

Ecclesiastical History	Marsh's	Attention throughout the course will be given to Reading, Composition, Vo- cal Music, and the Bible
Logic	Whately's	
Rhetoric concluded	Whately's	
Natural Theology	Paley's	
Moral Philosophy	Wayland's	
Analogy of Religion	Butler's	
Evidences of Christianity	Alexander's	

Latin and French are not mentioned in either the Ipswich or Bradford course, but the Bradford catalogue announces a teacher of French in 1837 and afterward, and in 1840 Latin takes a recognized place.

Another interesting coincidence is the appearance on the Ipswich list of 1838 of Mezzotint Painting and Chinese Painting, and in the Abbot list of 1839 the same arts appear.

A glance at the textbooks used shows that most of them are now museum pieces. The reader is tolerant, however, because, when the teaching of science was in its infancy and psychology was masked as "Intellectual Philosophy," one is pleasantly surprised to find some new and graphic methods used in Woodbridge's *Universal Geography*. Wonder vanishes, however, when he discovers that the collaborator was Emma Willard,

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the maker of the best textbooks of the time. The two authors presented in graphic form comparisons and classifications. Mrs. Willard wrote a long introduction showing that the methods of comparative tables (size of cities, etc.) and classified facts were aids to the memory, "while the conscious use of these methods was good mental discipline, for it is more important to learn to think logically than to remember individual facts." What Mrs. Willard and her sister Mrs. Phelps did for students by writing textbooks has never been properly recognized.

Our triangular comparison is incomplete till we have visited Andover, where it has sometimes been assumed that a girls' school would inevitably have been founded because of the great success of Phillips Academy and the Theological Seminary. It is true that in a similar situation at Middlebury, Vermont, Mrs. Willard was moved to start her great enterprise for women because Middlebury College could not offer its opportunities to them. Nevertheless it was a difficult experiment to which the seven Andover men set their hands in February, 1829, an experiment which resulted in the first school in New England incorporated solely for girls. Neither did the prestige of Phillips and the Seminary make easy the opening years of Abbot Academy.

It would be hardly fair to draw comparisons between the young student principals of Abbot in its first decade and the two experienced women at Ipswich and Bradford who were devoting their lives to education, but at the end of that short preliminary period at Abbot came the Reverend T. D. P. Stone who shared with Miss Grant and Miss Hasseltine the desire to train teachers. The curriculum as published in the Abbot catalogue of that year was divided into two parts, the Teachers' Department and the Latin Course. The description of that

Bradford Academy...Female Department.

Miss *Lucy H. Greenleaf* has recited during the last term 70 perfect lessons & imperfect 0 bad; has been absent from recitations 0 times, and tardy 0 times; she has on record 0 marks for whispering, and credits for extra answers.

A. C. Hasseltine,
S. Kimball,
C. H. Harris.

Note. If a lady misses more, it is considered an imperfect lesson; if more than one, bad; extra answers, those not required to constitute a perfect lesson.

1833

TERM REPORTS

1828

BRADFORD ACADEMY.		QUARTERLY BILL		FOR		Miss <i>Lucy H. Greenleaf</i>		
RECITATIONS.							B. GREENLEAF.	A. C. HASSELTINE, S. KIMBALL.
Weeks.	Perfect.	Well.	Bad.	Extra Ans'rs.	Absent.	Whispering.		
1	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
2	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
3	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
4	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
5	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
6	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
7	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
8	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
9	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
10	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
11	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	
12	0	1	1	—	—	—	—	

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course by Miss Philena McKeen in her history of Abbot Academy cannot be omitted:¹

"In the department of Physics, Physiology and Astronomy with Mineralogy and Conchology by lectures were introduced; while the religious teachings of all the sciences was combined in Paley's *Natural Theology*. The plan of History included America, England, France, Greece, and Rome with the Kingdom of Christ in all, as traced in Marsh's *Church History*.

"National and State Government was to be studied by the help of Sullivan's *Political Class Book*. Dr. Watts softly opened the door to Metaphysics through his little treatise on the Mind. Rhetoric, Logic, Evidences of Christianity, and Butler's *Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion* were added to Mental and Moral Science of previous years."

The emphasis laid upon religious subjects especially in the last year of the course was not peculiar to Bradford, Ipswich, and Abbot, either at this period or for many years later. The modern student finds this emphasis all out of proportion to the time spent upon literature, languages, and other cultural subjects, and he (more likely *she*) infers that the makers of such curricula were religious fanatics. To be understood, it must be considered in the conditions of its origin, that is, in the time when, if women were to get a "higher education," schools like Troy, Hartford, and Ipswich Seminaries, and Abbot and Bradford Academies must decide what that education should be. That in turn must be determined by the uses to which such an education was to be devoted. All agreed that these were two; namely, motherhood with its consequent training of children, and teaching. Professional and business training for women was, of course, unheard of. Training for the forming of the minds and characters of children must be

¹ *History of Abbot Academy*, Philena McKeen, 1880, vol. 1, p. 71.

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sound intellectually and above all it must be so well grounded religiously on a knowledge of the facts of the history of Christianity, so buttressed by argument, that ignorance and doubts of all kinds could be met. It remained, then, to discover what books could safely be put into the hands of students and ably administered by teachers to give these great fundamentals. The makers of these courses of study very probably turned to the men's colleges to see what books were used there. In the college catalogues of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Bowdoin from 1822 to 1838 (the period of our consideration) among required studies of the junior or senior years are Paley's *Natural Theology*, Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, and Butler's *Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion*. In these and similar subjects those trustees of the seminaries and academies who had been to college had been well drilled. Trustees had an important part in framing courses and deciding upon textbooks—that was certainly true at Bradford—so what subjects could give the female mind with its superior "facility and apprehension" better nutrition than those which they themselves had studied? Once fixed among the required subjects of the senior year at Bradford, Abbot, and scores of other academies, they remained for over fifty years almost as firmly embedded as the corner stones of the buildings. The first requirement of the course was, obviously, to memorize and, if possible, translate the title of that ancient book, *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*. Many an Abbot and many a Bradford girl has said, "Start me anywhere in Butler and I can go on!" For any such chance reader of these words, here is a sample; can you go on?

"Probable evidence, in its very nature, affords but an imperfect kind of information. . . . It follows, that in questions

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of difficulty, or such as are thought so, where more satisfactory evidence cannot be had, or is not seen, if the result of examination be, that there appears, upon the whole, any the lowest presumption on one side, and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side, though in the lowest degree greater, this determines the question, even in matters of speculation; . . .”

Miss Catharine Beecher in describing the Hartford course of study in 1831 made the following explanation:

“Butler’s *Analogy* was introduced as a specimen of argument peculiarly useful, ingenious and important; demanding a degree of mental effort to gain its general outline and minute excellencies. . . . The effort has been made to enable the pupils to understand the work thoroughly, and in most cases the success has been satisfactory, and its effect on the mind has been admirable both in a moral and intellectual point of view.”

If we marvel that religious instruction of such a solid and argumentative character remained so long in the academy curricula, we have but to note that at the founding of Vassar College the official *Report on Organization* in 1863 required “Lectures, Recitations and Examinations on the Bible and on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.” So in the required work of the senior year in 1865-66 were Wayland’s *Mental and Moral Philosophy* and Alexander’s *Evidences of Christianity*, both of which had been long in the Bradford course of study. Also at Smith College in 1872-73 *Christian Evidences* was among the required subjects.

If the Academy curriculum was indebted somewhat to the men’s colleges for suggestions on religious education, it is certainly true that the academies in turn influenced the early high schools. Grizzell says, “Probably the greatest service of

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the academy to New England was the training of teachers for the new public high schools that were springing up everywhere.”² These teachers, trained in the religious atmosphere of the academies, helped to set the standards which were later embodied in the state laws regulating high schools. In the first English High School in New England, taught by George B. Emerson in Boston in 1821, *Moral Philosophy*, *Natural Theology*, and *Evidences of Christianity* were required. A law of 1857 made Wayland’s *Moral Philosophy* obligatory in Massachusetts High Schools, and by 1861 it was reported on the curriculum of thirty-six schools, while *Natural Theology* was found in fifteen and *Evidences of Christianity* in eight. Even Butler’s *Analogy* appeared in the curriculum of the Lynn High School in 1850 and by 1861 was found in four other schools.³ As the high schools increased and usurped the work of the academies in a majority of places, religious education succumbed to the popular fear of sectarian influence. The surviving academies which did not become college preparatory schools therefore retained the religious subjects owing to a desire to do valuable work which the public schools could not do. Yet this hardly explains the retention for fifty-two years of Paley’s *Natural Theology* and Butler’s *Analogy* in the curriculum of Bradford Academy. This is not an isolated case of conservatism, however, for Abbot Academy kept Butler even longer.

Perhaps enough has been said to show that in spite of differing conditions Abbot and Bradford Academies had much in common in those days of beginnings. The girls represented the same parts of the country, and in about the same propor-

² *Origin and Development of the High School in New England before 1865*, E. D. Grizzell, p. 34.

³ Inglis, A. E., *The Rise of the High School in Massachusetts*, p. 82.

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tions. So alike were they that between 1829 and 1853 sixty-eight girls went to both Abbot and Bradford, sometimes first to Abbot, sometimes first to Bradford. At both schools promising young graduates were eagerly snatched as teachers for the home school where they got valuable experience later shared with other schools.

In the first fifty years of Bradford's life there were seventy teachers, including preceptresses, and of these, forty had been students at the Academy; no doubt much the same thing happened at Abbot. In 1853, when Bradford reached its half-century milestone, Abbot Academy's first woman principal was a Bradford graduate, Nancy Judson Hasseltine, niece of Miss Abigail and somewhat resembling her in dignity and personal power. It was a happy coincidence that in the same year an Abbot Academy alumna, Rebecca Gilman, became principal of Bradford Academy.

CHAPTER XI

TO THE HALF CENTURY MARK

1836-1853

RETURNING to the slow march of events at Bradford, we find that in October, 1835, Mr. Greenleaf sent his resignation to the trustees to take effect the following April. Anxious that this decision and the inevitable closing of the boys' department should not act unfavorably upon the reputation of the master, the trustees gave him a vote of confidence and esteem, as well they might. They made him secretary of the Board in 1838 and president in 1850, so he continued to serve the school in an even larger way than previously.

In 1839, the very year the state started the first Normal School at Lexington, Mr. Greenleaf opened his Teachers' Seminary for both sexes in Bradford which continued till 1848, but unfortunately no records of this significant enterprise have come down to us. As a member of the General Court he introduced a petition for a geological and natural history survey of the state which was soon after accomplished. On the school board of the town of Bradford he frequently visited the schools and used to terrify the children with, "Where are the Islands of God's Mercy?" or, "If it cost one dollar to cut five cords of wood and the andirons cost ten dollars, what will the wood come to?" [Answer, "Ashes."] But the boys and girls knew his good nature out of school, except when they trespassed on the Academy grounds. The story is told that at a Teachers' Convention, when he had listened for an hour to the vague remarks of a callow young teacher, he rose and said, "Mr. Chairman, I can tell all I know in five minutes."

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Dr. James R. Nichols in his Semi-Centennial Poem, describing the next change at Bradford Academy, told:

How the bold innovator one drear day
Drove every mother's murmuring son away,
Like fallen spirits driven in a trice,
Far, far beyond the gates of Paradise;
While sinless angels, safe within its walls
Now tread its courts and grace its polished halls.

The "polished halls" were not those of

That old brown schoolroom, with its oaken seats
Chiseled and cut —

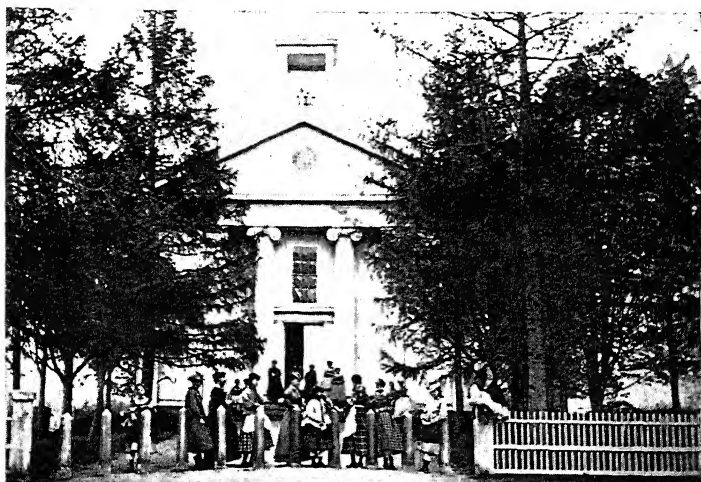
but those of the "commodious edifice" erected in 1841, at a cost of six thousand dollars, all of which was raised by subscription. Miss Hasseltine's labors in behalf of the new building, ably guided by Rev. Joseph Merrill of the Board of Trustees, were heroic. When it was clear that the meadow east of the old Academy could not be bought, the building committee decided to move the old building back and use its site for the new one. Miss Hasseltine used to stand at the door and look longingly at the meadow where the present building stands and say, "That's where it ought to be." The old building was fitted up as a Preparatory Department and called "Willow Hall." In contrast to the shabby old quarters, the two-storied white frame building with its dignified pillars and cupola must have seemed "polished" indeed. Its assembly room on the second floor seating over a hundred pupils, with a platform for the teachers, its lecture room, library, music room for *the* piano, its room for the "philosophical apparatus," and "a drawing-room for company" were really up-to-date and attractive, too much so for the typical old student who wrote the "Scholars' Lament" in verse on the passing of the scene of her schooldays.

The dedication at the opening of the spring term, April 15,

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was a solemn occasion. "The day was bright and clear, and the friends of the Institution and of female education assembled in large numbers at two o'clock." The address of the day, by Rev. William M. Rogers of Boston, was so highly approved that the trustees had it printed and circulated with a lithograph of the buildings, the first picture we have of even the old Academy. Like nearly every other speaker of the day on similar occasions Mr. Rogers described a *Christian Education*, its object, its methods and its consequent duties. "All truth is religious truth" he said, "and to this noble domain of the soul, a Christian education should introduce us. The realm of truth may be divided into (1) What God has done (including science, mathematics, and man), and (2) What He is and what He requires." If the one hundred and forty girls to whom the peroration of the speech was addressed did not follow all its abstraction they will be pardoned by any twentieth-century graduate who tries to read it.

Since the organization of the three years' curriculum there had been a growing demand for such a recognition of the completed course as Miss Grant had given both at Adams Academy and at Ipswich Seminary. Diplomas for girls were new and looked upon as an unnecessary frill for females. But the Class of 1842 had among its members some young women whose achievements should gain recognition if it were ever to be awarded to any class. One was Mary Merrill (Mrs. Edward B. Oliver), daughter of Rev. Joseph Merrill, who had already done much for the school; another was Elizabeth Cate (Mrs. William Barrows), the future author of the *Memorial History of Bradford Academy*; another was Harriette Briggs, one of seven sisters who came to Bradford from Marblehead. Harriette Briggs soon after her graduation married Rev. D. T. Stoddard and went as a missionary to Persia. On her de-



BRADFORD ACADEMY, 1841-1869



BRADFORD ACADEMY AND HOUSE OF BENJAMIN GREENLEAF



BRADFORD ACADEMY.

This Certifies that Mrs Harriette Briggs
has been a member of this Academy, and has completed the course of studies
prescribed by the Board of Trustees, that she has regularly attended the
courses for instruction, has sustained a good character and is hereby
entitled to this "Diploma" signed by the President and Secretary
of the Board.

Bradford, Mass July 19. A.D. 1842

Isaac Braman

DIPLOMA OF HARRIETTE BRIGGS, 1842

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parture her closest Bradford friends who called themselves a secret "Sisterhood" gave her a silver cup. This she took with her to Persia and used it for sacramental wine at the first Communion Services in the mission. After Mrs. Stoddard's death the cup came back to her sister, Mrs. Wight, who gave it to Bradford Academy. Later Mrs. Wight's niece gave Mrs. Stoddard's diploma to the school and a reproduction is shown here.

Five of the seven members of 1842 returned to Bradford at the fall meeting of the Alumnae Association in 1891 for their fiftieth anniversary. Mrs. Oliver and Mrs. Barrows both gave delightful reminiscences. The latter described their graduating exercises :

"It was a great day for the school and for us, when we received our diplomas from the hand of Dr. Isaac Braman, a man of great repute for his learning. . . . The house was full to overflowing, the exercises had passed off very creditably, and the seven young ladies were marshalled on the platform for the climax. Dr. Braman's address was elaborated with great care, liberally garnished with Latin quotations, and quite Johnsonian in style. He closed with a flourish and then took the diplomas in hand. They were rolled and tied, but the names had not been put on the outside. . . . After a moment's bewildered pause the old gentleman exclaimed, 'Well, well, I really dont know which is which. You'll have to take them and shift them among yourselves.' We had been weighed down by the responsibilities which the address had laid upon us, and this sudden descent from the heights was almost too much, and we came near disgracing ourselves. There were no tears shed after that, even when we sang our parting hymn."

The trustees later granted diplomas to four former students who had previously completed the course. Among them

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was Charlotte Tenney (Mrs. Daniel Kimball), who became a teacher in the Academy for many years.

With the building of the new Academy an effort was put forth to get funds for enlarging the boarding house. Originally equipped to accommodate twenty-eight girls, it had long been overcrowded and uncomfortable. After a time the number of rooms was increased and the dining room enlarged. At the anniversary of 1845 the graduates who were present, seventeen in number, undertook to collect ten dollars apiece toward a building to be used for calisthenics and entertainments. This enthusiasm so stirred the trustees that they put up a two-story building behind the boarding house, which was called "Cassia Hall" and was used for entertainments. There is no official record of the teaching of calisthenics at that time, but the girls may have done something of the sort among themselves. The Bradford girls who took the initiative in 1926 for building a new infirmary, thereby hastening the plans of the trustees, had a good precedent for their action in that of the seventeen young graduates of 1843. The undergraduates of 1845 proved that they also were alive to their share of responsibilities by giving a clock for the Academy which today hangs at the rear of the Assembly Hall.

Among those enthusiastic young graduates who returned in July, 1845, were of course, "last year's class," and in that group of thirteen are names well known in the town of Bradford. Lucretia H. Kimball (Mrs. R. S. Kendall) was the daughter of Jesse Kimball, one of the leading men of Bradford and a constant friend of the Academy as befitted the son of Colonel James. Mrs. Kendall, like her sister-in-law, Mrs. Betsey Greenleaf Kendall, used to say that she could not remember the time when she did not go to the Academy. She had rare gifts of mind and a charm of personality, both of which

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were enriched by the widest experience. Her scholarly husband was a minister in Middlebury, Vt., where their three children were born; later he was U. S. Consul at Strassburg, Germany, and at Brindisi, Italy. After his death in Geneva, Mrs. Kendall remained for a time in Heidelberg for the education of the three children. Later she taught in Ferry Hall, Ill., in Ripon College, Ill., in Atlanta University, and in Howard University, Washington, D. C. Wherever she went she made warm friends to whom she gave of herself, and the more she gave the richer was the experience and the warmer the sympathy from which she drew. In later years she divided her time between her two daughters, Mrs. Lucretia Clark in England, and Prof. Elizabeth Kendall of Wellesley College. During visits in Bradford, when she and Mrs. Betsey Greenleaf Kendall renewed old days, listeners were fortunate if they could hear story matched against story, wit against wit, as one reminiscence provoked another. Between them they could tell the whole story of Bradford Academy from the beginning till 1910. Mrs. Kendall died in 1911 at the age of ninety at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Clark, in Surrey, England.

Another member of 1844 was Nancy Judson Hasseltine (Mrs. J. S. Sanborn), of whom we have already heard as the first woman principal of Abbot Academy. Previous to that she had taught at Bradford Academy seven years and one year at Townsend Academy. She and her sister Rebecca must have brought great joy to the old Hasseltine home, and very real help to "Aunt Abby" in her heavy labors. Many of the hand-written bills and receipts (none were printed) which have survived are signed "Nancy H." for A. C. H.

The Class of '44 lives for us also in the *Letters of Ada Parker* of Lee, N. H. Her name is in the "First Class," and she was almost ready to graduate when she became ill and had to

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leave school. The bitter disappointment did not break her spirit, for in spite of recurring attacks of tuberculosis, she taught school here and there and kept up a lively correspondence. Parts of two of her letters from Bradford introduce us to undergraduate life of the forties.

Bradford Academy, December 23, 1843.

We have formed a society of the teacherhood. The object is intellectual improvement. The name is Hepteria, there being seven of us. We first read short pieces of interest to each; then some work selected by all; lastly two or three original productions of members appointed the week previous. . . . One thing I wish to say, "There is some trouble in the finances." I want some money very much. I am now entirely minus that article, save a borrowed half-dollar. I feel quite like Neckar on a small scale. . . . But 'tis no use to borrow trouble. I like a sentence in a friend's letter from her brother, — "Go on in life joyfully, Mary." I have received a present from my roommate of D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*. It is what I have wished for very much; it is historical, theological and rhetorical.

Bradford Academy, May 10, 1844.

(TO HER BROTHER)

Did you ever hear of a guitar? Have I not told you that we have two players in the house? What sort of plan would it be for me to have one? There is no reason to suppose that I shall ever have a piano. Would it not be a refining influence on the children? . . . Now do not be provoked when I tell you that I have purchased one and have already learned several tunes. Ellen found one in Boston for twelve dollars and second-hand. Could you not manufacture fifteen dollars for your troublesome sister? . . . I am plodding along the steep path of science. We have to work very hard but I hope to be able to go through

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with it. Notwithstanding our hard labors we have very good times. . . . Graduating is the end of each day's study. Examinations, Composition and even dress are wondrous topics in our little world; for we are all to dress in uniform diploma day, — white muslin, white sashes, white gloves. . . .

Graduates are most loyal when the obvious needs of a school can be met only by heroic effort, and this coöperative spirit was fostered at Bradford by young graduates on the faculty. Four of the seven members of 1842 were teaching at the Academy at the same time, along with others who had not graduated. One of them was Mary H. Noyes whose teaching of the piano was so valuable that music became a regular part of the program and not an occasional blessing as formerly. Another teacher of this period was Joanna Griffin (Mrs. Royal Parkinson), a former Abbot Academy student, whose son William D. Parkinson is now serving Bradford as a trustee.

Salaries had risen in 1847 to the following heights:

Miss Abigail C. Hasseltine, Principal \$500.
Miss M. E. W. Vose, Associate Principal 450.
Miss Ellen Emerson, higher English studies 250.
Miss Nancy J. Hasseltine 160.
Miss Mary Goodridge 160.
Miss Maria D. Kimball 140.
Miss Mary E. Blair, Latin and French 300.
Mr. Artemas N. Johnson, Music 300.

This was the faculty for two hundred and fifty-eight girls, but the old catalogue list has a footnote saying that for a portion of the year instruction had been given by Caroline Whittier, Mary H. Noyes, Susan Whitwell and Eliza Coger, all of them former students.

Miss Martha Vose was the first to hold the rank of associate principal. After graduating at Ipswich Seminary she taught

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at Wheaton Seminary and was principal there from 1840 to 1842. Years afterward she wrote, "Upon my first acquaintance with Bradford Academy, I was struck with the broad and liberal spirit in which all its plans were laid and which gave an energy and purpose to the education of its pupils not often found. . . . Minds were awakened to independent thought, principles were discussed and theories established, or exploded with freedom and enthusiasm." Much to the regret of Miss Hasseltine and the trustees her stay in Bradford was short. She married Rev. Alfred Emerson, the son of Joseph and Rebecca Emerson, and her husband became a professor in Western Reserve College. The connection of the family with Bradford did not stop there, however, for a daughter, Frances Vose Emerson, was a favorite teacher in the school of Miss Abby Johnson in Boston, and succeeded her as its head mistress.

Most loved and admired of all the teachers of this and a later period was Miss Mary Elizabeth Blair, who came to Bradford in 1847, and taught French and Latin. She was an intimate friend of Nancy J. Hasseltine, who persuaded her to go with her to Abbot Academy in the capacity of associate principal. Miss McKeen¹ speaks of them as "each the complement of the other. The one (Miss Hasseltine) was full of hope, practical skill, and executive energy; the other was in frail health, absent-minded, and unpractical but highly intellectual, affluent in mental resources and able to kindle aspiration. . . . She taught everything as if it were her favorite study. She made the process of becoming intelligent delightful." She returned to Bradford in 1858 where she again "rained influence." One of her students says, "I recited to Miss Blair in English Literature; she seemed to know all

¹ McKeen, Philena, *History of Abbot Academy*, vol. 1, p. 47.

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about all the authors of the world, and was winning and sympathetic in every way."

Memories of inspiring teachers are not inconsistent with records of days when lessons were too hard and boarding-house food the traditional diet. Realism was the gift of two or three letter writers of the period.

Bradford, Tuesday Morn, May 29, 184-

MY DEAR FANNY,

I dressed myself in a great hurry this morning that I might find time to answer your letter. If you only knew how perfectly delighted I am to get letters you would send at least your signature—that would be acceptable. . . . Last Saturday I did not go to Haverhill. I have been there so much I am tired of it. . . . I don't know of anything to write about except the beautiful sermons we have on Sundays. Meeting begins at ten and closes at twelve, the sermons, everyone that I have heard, are one hour long. Last Sunday afternoon I went to sleep, a thing I never did before, so you can judge how interesting they are. . . . Oh dear, such a place for borrowing as this I never knew, there have been at least four at my room for something within fifteen minutes, and the worst of it is they don't trouble to bring back what they borrow.

We have lectures at the Academy delivered by a Mr. Lord four times a week and we have to write each one as much as we can remember of them, but I like it better than writing compositions, we are excused from them while we have the lectures, they are an hour long and some of them very hard, the last one was on the Crusades.

Last Wednesday night when I went up to my room to go to bed I perceived four dor-bugs ("June bugs") whizzing around. I thought what a pity it was, you could not have been here,

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they are such favorites of yours. You wrote about the danger of my falling in love, it would have to be at sight then, for I would have been at home before this if I had spoken to a gentleman. . . . They are so religious here there is no getting along, not but that I approve of people's being religious, but when it is carried to such an extreme as it is here it is perfectly absurd. They think it is dreadful to read a newspaper on Saturday evening which they call a part of Sunday. . . .

from LIZZIE.

Postage bills were serious for a Bradford girl who demanded letters from her friends. One made out to Miss Todd informs her that she owes the Bradford Post Office for letters received September 24-29, 1849, \$3.32. It is receipted by Nathan Fletcher, P. M.

Bradford, May 5, 1846.

DEAR JENNIE

Here I am at last quite comfortably settled at Mrs. Thurston Kimball's, in my opinion the most delightful place in town. . . . There are besides Mr. and Mrs. K. and two children, Dr. Cogswell and daughter and a student by the name of ———. He wears spectacles and is a tall homely fellow, a great annoyance to us girls. . . . Lucretia boards a little way from here, but she is not contented. She says they have nothing to eat there but steamed bread and butter and butter and steamed bread. . . . Not quite half a mile from Mrs. Kimball's is a large white building with green blinds, a cupola on top and within the cupola a bell. It will immediately tell you that this is Bradford Academy itself, an institution for the education of females. The Principal of this establishment is Miss Hasseltine, a tall portly looking woman, of about sixty, at least that. To assist in managing the school she requires seven

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other knowledge-able women. . . . In the evening we are obliged to keep study hours, we cannot go out of our rooms or speak to any of the girls, if we do, it is a violation and we have to hand it in as such. But to make up for that, after study hours we have tableaux and charades and all such things, but at nine o'clock we must all be in our rooms and at a quarter past every light must be extinguished. . . . My room-mate is a sickly sort of a thing and has had a sick turn, and has now a blister and three plasters on her body. The doctor is going to give her something for the circulation of the blood. . . .

Your affectionate cousin,
HATTIE

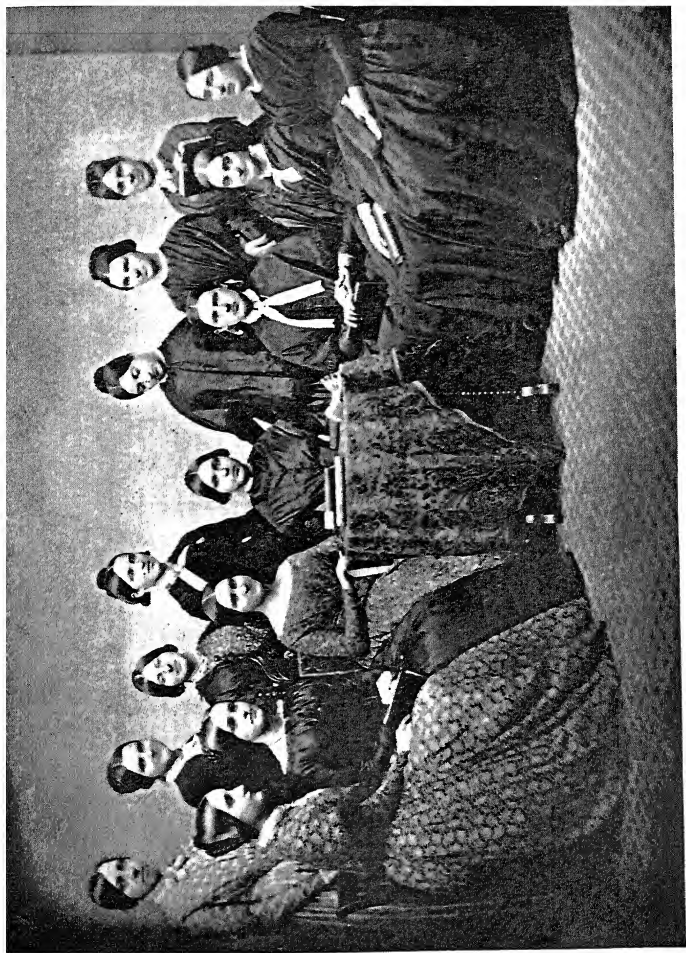
In the school as day pupils at this time were three girls who must have been a joy and stimulus to Miss Hasseltine and to the Class of 1848, Abby Johnson, Betsey Greenleaf, and Rebecca Hasseltine. Once when an undergraduate implied that the girls of the first class (seniors) had more privileges than others, Miss Hasseltine smilingly answered, "Labor to be yourselves indulged!" She had watched these three girls develop from earliest childhood, trained them all to be teachers and lived to see her namesake, Abby Johnson, carry on her own work as principal of the Academy. Another member of 1848 was Elizabeth S. Page of Exeter, who married Prof. Paul Chadbourn who became President of Williams College.

It was now Miss Hasseltine's plan and earnest wish to retire from active service. She had therefore associated with herself, first Miss Vose, and upon her resignation, Miss Mary E. Ellison, who became associate principal in 1848. Miss Ellison was an experienced teacher, having been at Ipswich Seminary in 1839 after Miss Grant had left, and had also taught at the Teachers' Seminary in Plymouth, N. H. Yet how could a teacher and an executive, trained elsewhere, perfectly adapt

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herself to Miss Hasseltine's ways, carry on her methods and at the same time keep her own individuality? Miss Ellison's social graces won the students and for years they quoted her on points of etiquette. She was made principal of equal rank with Miss Hasseltine for 1848-49, and the stage was set for Miss Hasseltine's long desired freedom. But some kind of rupture must have taken place that year. Suddenly on March thirteenth Miss Ellison was married to Rev. Luther Dimick, D.D., pastor of a church in Newburyport. We all know that schoolgirls love a romance, so a majority of seniors, expecting to graduate in July, would not have withdrawn because a loved teacher deserted them for marriage, especially as the ceremony took place in the Bradford Church. They evidently thought that in some way Miss Ellison had not been treated fairly. They withdrew just before they were to finish their course. The daguerreotype of the class (a copy of which is seen here) was taken for Miss Ellison and after her death it was returned to Mrs. Caroline Corliss Crowell, one of the five who did not withdraw.

Another noncombatant was Mary Chadwick Barrett, a granddaughter of Col. Joseph Chadwick, in whose home she lived for several years and in whose memory she and her husband, Judge Addison Brown, established the Chadwick-Barrett Scholarship. After his wife's death in 1887 Judge Brown gave the Mary Chadwick Barrett Prize funds; in this way the name of a gifted and much loved graduate lives in Bradford Academy today. Mary Barrett wrote delightful verse for her own amusement and for her friends. Some of her verses are ingenious charades. Later a volume of these poems was published. Here are the last three stanzas of a charade:



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Fair acres sloping to a stream
That flows beneath the willows' shade;
Through clustering evergreens, the gleam
Of tapering spire and white facade;

A charm as of enchanted realms
Thrown nightly round thy pleasant homes;
The summer glory of thy elms,
With moonlight on their leafy domes;

Ah! these are fair; yet love I more
Thy lonely ways through field and wood
For there, within my WHOLE of yore
The lilacs and the farmhouse stood.

The following charade anticipates the age of bobbed hair:

CHARADE TO C. H. C.

The highest gift of heaven to man,
When all his various gifts we scan;
That which we always lose with sorrow,
And sometimes are obliged to borrow;
The lover's gift, the poet's song,
Which Art makes short, and Nature long.

A dear friend of Mary Barrett was Aroline C. Hall, whose gracious presence is still a happy memory in Bradford. Threatening ill health prevented her graduation with the Class of 1850, but recovery made it possible for her to become the head of a boys' school in New York when she was only nineteen. She continued her teaching in the Twelfth Street School for many years, but the ties with the Bradford home were never broken. Indeed she used to say that she loved first her family, second her church, and third always Bradford Academy. This loyalty she amply demonstrated after her return to Bradford by an uninterrupted service as president of the Alumnae Association from 1885 to 1897. In her passing

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in 1917 we lost not only a warm friend but one of those gentlewomen of a type now almost extinct.

In the emergency of Miss Ellison's departure Miss Hasseltine resumed her duties as if she had never laid any of them down, but she was still determined to find her successor. Miss Ann Maria Crocker of New Bedford, whose experience in Boston, Philadelphia and Cincinnati schools promised to bring new life to Bradford, was engaged as associate principal in 1850. She was educated at the Hartford Female Seminary under Mr. Brace, where she showed herself a real scholar. The trustees, at Miss Hasseltine's request, very carefully defined the work of each, Miss Hasseltine having charge of the correspondence and outer relations of the school while Miss Crocker had oversight of the instruction and discipline. All went well, for Miss Crocker was a brilliant teacher, especially in astronomy. She raised the standard of scholarship, and she seemed a promising successor to Miss Hasseltine, but after a year she withdrew and became principal of Hartford Female Seminary. There she was also successful but again remained only a year, leaving the position to be married to Rev. Amos E. Lawrence of Stockbridge. She died in 1865.

Fortunate indeed were those girls who had the teaching of Miss Crocker and the friendly guidance of Miss Hasseltine. Among these was Harriet O. Nelson of the Class of 1851, and fortunate were those teachers who found her quick mind and eager ambition in their classes. She returned to the Academy to teach a few years, and although she taught later in other places, devoting many years to the Haverhill High School, she could always be counted upon for able work in the Bradford Alumnae Association as well as in scores of activities in the city. Her students recall her quick survey of a page held close to her nearsighted eyes, then a flash of wit, a compre-

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hensive comment, and an apt allusion to things remote, but always easily recalled from her richly stored memory. She lived till 1923, and her name will not be forgotten in Bradford and Haverhill.

Before giving up her responsibilities Miss Hasseltine had successfully carried through a plan for helping girls of small means at the Academy by adopting for them the Mount Holyoke plan of self-help. She had interested Mr. A. S. Thornton of Manchester, England. He had bought the Jesse Kimball house, offering it rent free to the trustees for the use of girls who otherwise could not attend the school, on condition that they would do their own housework. The next task was to furnish the building. A "Benefit" was arranged and money was raised, but in order to have the house ready for occupancy Miss Hasseltine had to pay a large share from her own pocket for which the trustees reimbursed her in time.

Meantime plans were on foot for two things: the publication of a general catalogue to cover the fifty years, and the celebration of the Semi-Centennial of the school.

Judge Addison Brown undertook the former, and by untold labor he produced a wonderfully accurate piece of work. He used the old Harvard plan which condensed facts but gave all essentials. Thanks to Miss Hasseltine's wonderful memory for names and addresses, Judge Brown was able to supply lists for the few which had been lost. The result was a book for which we cannot be too grateful. Judge Brown remarked that he received for his services fifty dollars which he considered adequate.

The committee of the trustees appointed for arranging the Semi-Centennial consisted of Mr. Greenleaf, Dr. George Cogswell, and Rev. Jesse Page. Dr. Cogswell had begun to practice medicine in Bradford in 1830, and was made a trustee of the

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Academy at just the time it became a school for girls alone. He was punctilious in attending trustee meetings, and as treasurer since 1840 had guarded well the funds of the Academy. He had spent three years of study in Paris and London, but his interest in medicine became more academic than practical, while he served in many positions of financial trust in Haverhill. The affairs of the Academy offered him a good subject for his enthusiasm, and he knew the value of throwing his energy into the life of a permanent institution.

Rev. Jesse Page of Atkinson, a warm friend of Rev. Nathan Munroe of Bradford, was well versed in the problems and life of Atkinson Academy, and that experience was valuable in his new trusteeship. He took the place on the Board left vacant by the death of Deacon Daniel Noyes who had served for twenty-four years, and who had in early manhood been preceptor before Mr. Greenleaf. The four daughters of Deacon Noyes attended the school, and one of them, Mrs. Sarah E. Noyes Aiken of Princeton, New Jersey, was connected with the New York Bradford Academy Club until her death in 1920.

Before arriving at the half-century milestone mention should be made of other trustees who had given generously of time and energy to the school in that period.

The first man to be a trustee of Bradford Academy who came from a distance greater than Boston was Dr. Nathan Durfee of Fall River. The immediate reason for his interest in the school was the entrance of his daughter Mary in 1842 and of two nieces soon after. When we discover that Dr. Durfee was a graduate of Brown University and of Harvard Medical School, that he was greatly interested in education, in his Congregational Church and Sunday School, and that he had ample wealth and leisure, we can imagine how welcome he was

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upon the Bradford Board. He had served on the Fall River School Board and in the House of Representatives. His daughter Mary (Mrs. Samuel A. Chase) was a classmate of Sarah Noyes in 1847, so Deacon Noyes and Dr. Durfee had added interests in common. Perhaps it was the daughters who persuaded their fathers to build the porch on the front of the boarding house. Dr. Durfee remained a Bradford trustee until his death in 1876.

The president of the Board from 1845 to 1849 was Hon. Samuel H. Walley of Roxbury (1805-1877), who was well known in Boston as banker and philanthropist. He was prominent in the Old South Church, president of the Massachusetts Bible Society, and auditor of the American Board of Missions. He carried his public spirit into political life also, having been speaker of the Massachusetts House, and a member of Congress two terms. That his interest in education was well founded is shown by the changes in the Bradford course of study which he advocated in a report on the reorganization of the school in 1845. Looking back to the very slow advance made at the Academy in the following years, it would seem regrettable that Mr. Walley could not have been persuaded to remain longer on the Board.

Bradford Academy has to date celebrated its birthday rather formally four times. Centennials are now more common than were semi-centennials, at least for girls' schools, in 1853. This first anniversary on a large scale had peculiar significance in the fact that a few of the chief persons in the celebration had been active in the school for the whole period. Of course the center of that small group was Miss Abigail Hasseltine who had attended the Academy on its opening day and now, as its principal, was begging for release from its cares. We may be sure that it was she and Mr. Greenleaf who put

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their honored heads together, planned the occasion, and then made suggestions to the official committee.

It was decided to combine the regular anniversary with the celebration and by no means to omit the annual public examination. The importance of that part of what we now call "Commencement" may be judged by the caliber of the men formally invited by the trustees to act on the examining committee. In 1852 they asked Prof. Calvin Stowe of Bowdoin College, Rev. Roswell D. Hitchcock of Exeter, Rev. Rufus Clark of East Boston, and Dr. James R. Nichols of Haverhill, to examine the school. When their visitation was completed the chairman returned a written report commenting with discrimination upon the scholarship and teaching which they had witnessed, and read it on Anniversary Day. Such an examination took place several days before the Jubilee Celebration of July six, so it is to be hoped that the student body was practically carefree on the great day. Invitations had been broadcast, the weather was perfect, crowds came from far and near. A procession from the Academy to the church, the present church building, was led by Mr. Greenleaf and Miss Hasseltine, with the two hundred girls in white dresses with uncovered heads.

Early in the long program was the report of the examining committee read by the chairman, Mr. W. H. Wells of the Putnam School, Newburyport. Then followed the awarding of diplomas by Mr. Greenleaf, president of the Board of Trustees, to the ten graduates. One of these was Matilda Lund of Boxford, whose memories and racy comments on this and more than fifty later anniversaries which she lived to witness ought to have been recorded for those who could not hear her lively stories.

In the student body, thinking no doubt of their own future

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graduation, were two who lived to enjoy the accounts of the One Hundred Twenty-fifth Anniversary in 1928. Mary Pitman of Marblehead (Mrs. W. J. Goldthwaite), of the Class of '55, and Ellen A. Sawyer (Mrs. R. M. Ingalls) of Haverhill, of the Class of '57. Mrs. Ingalls' sister, Annie Sawyer (Mrs. Samuel Downs), of '55 was also there, and one would have liked to hear her discriminating comments, especially upon the address of the day.

For that important feature of the occasion the trustees had tried to get Prof. C. C. Felton of Harvard, but a good substitute was another eminent scholar, who had also been a student at Bradford Academy, namely, Rev. Calvin E. Stowe, D.D., just installed as professor in Andover Seminary. Professor Stowe was not only well known as scholar and teacher, but he had recently been sent abroad to investigate foreign schools and had become an authority on public education. He had married Harriet Beecher, whose interest in the education of girls was second only to that of her sister Catharine, and she showed that interest in various ways at Abbot Academy. Is it not altogether probable that Mrs. Stowe accompanied her husband to Bradford on the sixth of July, 1853? She is not mentioned in the accounts of the event, for it was a men's affair, so far as speech making was concerned; moreover the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was scarcely known as yet, although the story had appeared the previous year in an Anti-Slavery periodical.

Our best authority on the address is Judge Addison Brown, who, in his speech fifty years later at the Centennial dinner, recalled his own impressions. He said that the subject was the broad one of "The capabilities and duties of woman," and that Professor Stowe treated it exhaustively — the upshot of the whole thing being that woman should keep within the do-

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mestic circle; a curious subject for the husband of the author of a book which was to be translated into twenty languages and was to more profoundly influence the nation than any other book written by a woman! Or, may we infer from some recent accounts of Mrs. Stowe, that her novel writing interfered a little now and then with cooking and dishwashing, those prime duties of the domestic circle? The reporter of the *Haverhill Gazette* was bored by the learned professor's remarks. "Common sense," said he, "nothing more!" The public seems to have been a little tired even then of hearing that women's gifts are different from men's, being designed solely for the home, etc., etc. Nevertheless the speaker drove home one bit of uncommon common sense, namely, that the health of American women was far inferior to that of their European sisters, and that if they were not the possessors of *mens sana in corpore sano* it was largely their own fault.

After listening respectfully to these serious considerations, the audience was enlivened by the anniversary poem in mock-heroic style read by Dr. James R. Nichols of Haverhill, which Annie Sawyer and Matilda Lund pronounced the best thing on the program. One cannot quote all its two hundred and sixty lines, but passages about Mr. Greenleaf and Miss Haseltine cannot be wholly omitted.

Preceptor Greenleaf, on whose ample brow
Time's finger marks we scarce discern e'en now,
Hale, joyous, hearty; that portentous nod
Wakes recollections of the birchen rod,
Which like the sword of Eden, day by day,
Grasped by his clenched hand, moved every way.
Oft have we started with a quickening bound
As though 'twere the last judgment's trumpet sound,
As the word "Boys!" came with stentorian breath,
Then followed silence, e'en like that of death.

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Meekly we raised our eyes to learn our doom,
Or what new perils to our sports had come.
And who remembers not, when evening prayers,
Those benedictions to our school-day cares,
Came, like the sweet "Amen" of some divine,
Who runs his prosy sermon out of time,
How our old teacher, with his close-shut eye,
All wrongful conduct could at once espy.
As o'er the tempting cornfield sits the crow,
Close watch to keep, while others rob below,
So we set watch. Our sentinels were bid
To scan those eyes, and note the moving lid,
And when devotion neared its happy close,
To warn at once by stepping on our toes.

.

As twining tendrils love the parent vine,
So love fond hearts the name of *Hasseltine*
Name hallowed mid the prairies of the West,
Where the declining sun sinks down to rest;
On southern plains where hoar frosts never chill
Are the heart's altar fires kept burning still.

.

Not hers the mission in the lessons taught
To gild and polish at expense of thought,
And pander to that love of outward show
Which asks how one appears, not what they know.
Not hers the painter's skill, not hers the art
To gloss the mind and leave untouched the heart;
But education vigorous — deep inwrought,
Mastering all themes within the range of thought.

At the luncheon in the great tent — another Bradford tradition started — Dr. Cogswell presided over the multitude, a thousand says one, fifteen hundred says another, and an unusually entertaining program of after-dinner speeches followed. Among the guests were Samuel Greele, the second preceptor, and Miss Hannah Swan, the very first preceptress. It was a pity that Miss Hasseltine did not respond to her own

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toast, but perhaps feeling was running too warmly in the great ovation given her for her to respond with that decorum and eloquence which she thought the occasion demanded. Mr. James R. Duncan therefore made a happy response for her. The critical *Gazette* reporter noted the scarcity of spoons and forks, but he admitted that the remarks of Hon. John P. Hale and Lieut.-Governor Huntington of Lowell were worth hearing, while Mr. Greenleaf covered himself with glory by a witty speech.

All this seems distinctly man-made for a girls' school, but later in the day, after the men had scattered, the women and girls gathered in the Academy Hall for informal reunions and chiefly to be present when a purse of money was to be given to Miss Hasseltine. This gift was made up of many small donations in response to a circular letter which contained some unvarnished facts, in these words :

"Our beloved Miss Hasseltine, after forty years of toil, has been in pecuniary results unrewarded ; and now in her old age is in straightened circumstances. Many of her former pupils feel interested to make up a purse, hoping to render her last days comfortable and happy in her quiet Bradford home."

This gift with others which supplemented it Miss Hasseltine was wise enough to use in 1857, not in sitting comfortably at home, but in a tour in Europe of several months. Surely neither in those days when European travel was a rare luxury nor in these when it is so common, did any woman enjoy more thoroughly its endless variety of scenes for which a well-stored memory is the first requisite.

CHAPTER XII

THE TWO MISS ABBYS

1853-1868

IN the autumn of 1853 Miss Rebecca Ives Gilman came as a stranger to Bradford Academy to take up the duties of principal. She was a Maine woman, one of four sisters who had studied at Abbot Academy. Her one year there (1839-40) was in the principalship of Rev. T. D. P. Stone who instituted the teachers' course. Where further study and experience in teaching had been acquired we do not know. She showed some initiative at Bradford in securing more teachers, a policy which was bound to improve the school, but unfortunately strained the treasury too heavily. Since the catalogues were prepared by a committee of the trustees and were issued without alteration except in the names of the students and teachers, it is difficult to visualize changes which inevitably came with the new administration. However, with Mr. Greenleaf still president, and Miss Hasseltine living close by, it would have taken a bold woman to break away from the customary routine, especially as changes always involved the spending of money. Did she like the Thornton House idea? Could she keep the agreement of the trustees with Mr. Thornton that its privileges of reduced expense by coöperative living would be given only to girls who pledged themselves to teach in a western wilderness? Could she agree to the rigid requirements of the students in regard to Sunday observance and amusements? One need not, perhaps, expend excessive sympathy upon so shadowy a figure as Miss Gilman, but that her task was not easy, and that her salary of five hundred dollars was inadequate, are both self-evident.

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Thornton House proved unsatisfactory, and Mr. Thornton, after a rather frigid correspondence with the trustees, withdrew his patronage at the end of the five years' lease. Either there was not enough sentiment in favor of teaching in the West, or it was impossible to follow the plan through to prove its practicability.

Not only Thornton House but the boarding house itself was in disfavor, for the latter was too small and the furnishings poor. In a little pamphlet issued in 1857 Miss Gilman appealed to the graduates whom she had known, asking for contributions to help refurnish the house, and citing the gifts which Wheaton and Abbot graduates had recently made for their schools. She added these cryptic words, "Not so much then [in the future] as now will you be known as the V. V. V., the N. N. S., the C. L. V., or the V. I. A. Your teachers' places may be filled by others." The mysterious letters were probably the initials of class mottoes.

The enlarged boarding house had on the first floor a parlor for the girls on the left of the hall, and the rooms of the house-keeper, Mrs. Elliot, on the right. At the back of the parlor was the music room and opposite that the dining room. The principal occupied the room over the parlor and the girls had all the other rooms above stairs. A passageway at the back led to "Cassia Hall," the room for entertainments and calisthenics. Stoves for heating and lamps of a primitive type for lighting, and breakfast at six-thirty or seven on cold winter mornings! Perhaps it was easier to understand Butler's *Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed to the Constitution and Course of Nature* by lamplight at six A.M. when one would be in too great a hurry to build a fire! It is a relief to catch sight of such an item as this: "Sleigh Ride—A large party in big sleighs, composed of pupils of the Academy, vis-

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ited Lowell, February 1, and dined at the Merrimac House." By daylight the girls could not execute the famous *coup* of later Abbot girls on a ride to Lowell who smuggled into the big sleigh a Phillips friend, but they doubtless had some initiative even without a boys' school in the same town.

Imagine the pride of the girls of the Class of 1855 in the fact that theirs was the largest class that had ever graduated! Twenty received what the trustees called the "honors of the Institution." Among them were Annie Sawyer (Mrs. S. M. Downs) and Salome Twitchell; the latter became a teacher in the Academy, and the former, a writer, lecturer, and the first Bradford alumnae trustee.

The *Haverhill Gazette* reporter, having been unable to get even standing room at the Anniversary of the preceding year, was on hand July 11, 1855, and was amazed at the crowd which came in spite of the torrential rain. The two hundred students marched to the hall at ten o'clock. The first part of the exercises were evidently intended to show what the girls had been studying, for it included a recitation from Butler's *Analogy* "which gave evidence of thorough study"; an exercise in Botany in which the laws of plant nutrition were discussed; the History of Language; composition and music. Then came *the* characteristic feature of Bradford Anniversary, namely the TOPIC. This account of the year 1855 when the subject was "Chivalry" is one of the earliest records of the TOPIC, an exercise which must have been invented by Abigail Hasseltine to convince the public that the female mind was capable of argument and public discourse. Usually the essay was written in dialogue form by a committee of the class, the parts then assigned, memorized, drilled, and the whole thing given on the Anniversary stage with as close a semblance to a spontaneous discussion as the teacher of

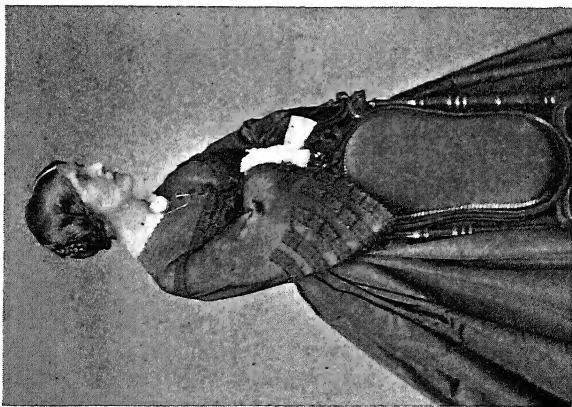
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elocution could make the class achieve. This had the advantage of allowing every parent or guardian to hear the voice of his beloved and to feel sure that tuition bills had not been paid for nothing. Annie Sawyer doubtless had a hand in writing the TOPIC on "Chivalry," so the *Gazette* reporter was justified in saying that there were many lively tilts. Should the conservative character of Bradford need further proof at this point, it may be found in the fact that the TOPIC was retained as a Commencement feature until 1892 when an emergency prevented its preparation, and after that it was not revived.

The Anniversary program was continued in the afternoon when an address was given at the church by some luminary who usually spoke on the education of women, but in 1855 the subject veered to "Elements of True Greatness," and we may be sure it had three heads.

Hospitality had its part at the dinner hour and at the close of the full program of Anniversary Day. It was becoming customary to hold a "levee" in the Academy Hall in the evening, a reception to which all the guests of the day were invited. The fact that the Academy property was mortgaged did not check the entertainment at the festival season, nor did it prevent the trustees from giving Miss Hasseltine a present of three hundred dollars.

Perhaps there was a financial crisis, perhaps there was another school in prospect, perhaps there was a lack of harmony; whatever the cause, the resignation of Miss Gilman which was to take effect in July actually became operative in April when she quietly passed out of Bradford history. Old students have told how smoothly everything was adjusted, however, by the selection of Miss Abby Johnson as principal and by calling back Miss Hasseltine as honorary principal



ABBY HASSELTINE JOHNSON



ABIGAIL C. HASSELTINE

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with certain light duties. Immediately there was a chorus of praise from the student body. Miss Johnson had been a popular teacher for five years and she fitted into the new position of principal like a hand into an old glove.

Miss Hasseltine for some time kept her Monday morning Bible class, a lesson of distinctly ethical nature. She often enlivened it by questions to test the girls' memory of texts. "Is woman ever a thing?" she asked. The desired answer was "Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing." (Prov. 18:22.) Her familiarity with the Bible was greater than her knowledge of the world. She once advised her students never to associate with young men who were accustomed to *sit* about the billiard table. In these later years she was most tenderly cared for by her sister Mary who with all her saintliness lacked, perhaps, Abigail's excellent sense of humor. Mary was a little troubled because Abigail did not keep her mind on the inevitable end of life. "If Abby would only trim her lamp!" she exclaimed. Whereupon an intimate friend, remembering Miss Hasseltine's fondness for dress, said "Abigail was not so much interested in trimming her lamp as in trimming her person."

Abby Hasseltine Johnson was the seventh of eight children of Frederick and Nancy Chase Johnson, both of Bradford. Sisters and brothers alike, except the youngest boy, attended the Academy, and Abby, although she lived at home with the others, was from twelve to twenty under the tutelage of the principal whose name she bore. An uncle, Leonard Johnson, was a trustee from 1832 till his death in 1865. She graduated in 1848 in the class with Laurretta Gibbs, Rebecca Hasseltine, Betsey Greenleaf, and Mary F. George, all of whom except the last taught later in the school. Instead of returning immediately as a teacher Miss Johnson held a position in Cleveland and perhaps elsewhere for a time, but destiny drew her

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back to Bradford where she began her work under Miss Gilman. Meanwhile she must have read and studied much, for she was immediately recognized as a teacher of power and resources. Perhaps she followed the plan which her successor at Bradford used, namely, studying all the subjects which her brother George had at Princeton. Unfortunately we have no data from which to gather facts about her development. Naturally reserved, she talked little about herself, and neither her nephews, nieces, nor students ever thought it remarkable that she had acquired such a fund of factual knowledge as well as unusual aesthetic standards. Once more we shall have to account for these accomplishments by referring them to her home and her own native ability. A student in the school when Miss Johnson became principal recently said, "She was a model to be copied." Her refinement in dress, manner, and speech at once created an atmosphere which the school's scanty equipment and crude living conditions could not spoil.

An unprejudiced reader of this history may very well exclaim at this point, "What a pity that the Academy should be so ingrowing, that just when higher education for women had begun to make strides, the school did not receive new blood and outside influence, and develop so that in the next decade it might have taken a place beside Vassar College!" And perhaps that rather ungentle reader is right. If he examines the curriculum he finds that there was scarcely a change from 1845 to 1869, and he wonders why girls came from long distances and lived in a poor boarding house or in private homes to carry on a course of study which had not greatly changed since their mothers' schooldays. The answer is to be found in the abiding influence of Miss Hasseltine and the reputation for thorough work and Christian idealism which she and Mr. Greenleaf had impressed upon the school. After trying other

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leadership, the trustees, like the old lady who hunted for her glasses and found them on her forehead, discovered one of their own graduates, now a teacher, who had a special gift of dealing with girls. They felt sure that at thirty she was old enough to carry her office with dignity, and young enough to take suggestions from Miss Hasseltine, who was made honorary principal. To be sure they offered her only three hundred dollars, but she was bold enough to ask for four hundred which they gave her. She took a room in the boarding house and while she could frequently return to her Main Street home when the increasing age of her parents made it necessary, she was usually among her girls, living very much as they did, even to the point of receiving notes lowered on a string from a room above and intended for someone waiting in the shade of the acacia tree. On the other hand here is a girl, a day pupil, who knew the side that was not stern and dignified. "When I was in quarantine for diphtheria she sent my work to me that I might keep up with classes. Later on she had me dine at the boarding house and took me for a rest to her own room every day for a long time. I picture it now, she on the couch, and I on the bed for our rest and nap." Another says, "I recall many small courtesies to unattractive students." Such testimony modifies the portrait of the cool and punctilious principal, faultless in dress and painfully observant of discrepancies in a student's hasty toilet. "Do I see a white pin?" she would ask. Her talks to the girls on posture and manners were given with humor and tact, even when she was obliged to refer to "ebony finger-tips." The girl who was reproved for wearing to church a hoop-skirt so large that she could not negotiate the entrance to the pew with decorum, and appeared later in the day with limp skirts, minus the hoop, did not receive her second reproof — this time for immodesty

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—from Miss Johnson, but from a teacher who had not the latter's humor.

One of the outstanding features of Miss Abby Johnson's administration was the large number of able lecturers whom she secured with the coöperation of the trustees. It may have been Mr. Greenleaf, still president of the Board, who was responsible for getting Prof. Paul Chadbourne to lecture on geology and natural history in 1859, but Miss Johnson knew him personally as the husband of her classmate, Elizabeth Page. Professor Chadbourne held chairs of science simultaneously in Williams and Bowdoin Colleges. He carried on scientific expeditions to Newfoundland, Iceland, and Greenland at intervals during the periods when he was lecturing at Bradford, and must, therefore, have had much new material to present to his students. Later he was made President of the University of Wisconsin and in 1872 was called back to Williams College where he was a very successful President till 1881. He wrote a prodigious number of books on scientific subjects and some on religion. This eminent gentleman has not lived in Bradford tradition, however, as has his contemporary, John Lord, whose name is forever linked with *Beacon Lights of History*.

John Lord graduated from Dartmouth in 1833 while his uncle Nathan Lord was president of the college. He studied for the ministry and was twice settled over a parish, but after 1840 he gave himself up to lecturing, this being the heyday of the Lyceum lecture platform. For over forty years he was heard in every school and college, and in every town where a Lyceum Bureau could find entrance. His eccentricities became bywords with college students, but they had to admit the essential realism which he gave to historical figures and scenes. A recent writer of reminiscences of old Dartmouth days says

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of him, "Dr. John Lord—how well I recall the nasal, 'O transcendental Carlyle!' and the clog dance which he apparently carried on back of the pulpit as his periods grew more dynamic."¹ Someone else speaks of going to hear Lord lecture on Christopher Columbus and finding that he must listen to a discourse on Women's Suffrage. No Bradford catalogue mentions Professor Lord till 1859, but that he delivered a course in the school as early as 1841 is proved not only by the letter quoted in Chapter XI, but by a little manuscript play called "Lord's Lectures" signed by five girls who were in the Academy in that year: Mary Alden, Mary Brooks, Harriette Briggs, Harriette Sanford, and Frances Crosby. Suddenly these girls live before us, setting forth the "pro and con" of "his Lordship's six lectures" on the Middle Ages, and teasing each other, though with absolute decorum of course, about his "Lord's ship" and whether he would take them in it to Silsby's Island. Mary, who says she is tired of "Teutons, German ancestors, aristocrats, régimes and a host of repetitions," declares, "I believe that the very *Indians*, could they have heard him, would have had not a doubt of their German origin."

"Rev. John Lord, Lecturer on History," became a fixture in the Bradford catalogue till 1886, but there were many years in that long period when Bradford heard him not. His visits at the Academy in the late sixties and early seventies always turn up in reminiscences of students, not of course for any valuable information on the Crusades or Renaissance, but for some incongruity between his informal, not to say slovenly, appearance and the fastidious air of distinction which always characterized Miss Abby Johnson. In those days he sat while lecturing and usually wore comfortable looking slippers. The girls never solved the mystery of the hour when Miss Johnson

¹ *Dartmouth Book of Remembrance*, Edw. J. Bartlett, p. 69. Webster Press, 1922.

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came in late to the lecture, spoke to Mr. Lord, and received for an answer, "Ummh?" Whereupon the dignified principal sat through the lecture with her eyes in a book.

More credit is due Miss Johnson for the teachers she drew around her than for the occasional lecturers provided by the trustees. Fortunately she was able to call back to Bradford Miss Mary Blair, who had been at Abbot Academy as associate principal with Miss Nancy Hasseltine, and Miss Rebecca Hasseltine, who had also accompanied her sister Nancy to Abbot. Rebecca remained at Bradford teaching Latin till 1864, but Miss Blair stayed only two years, yet she is more often mentioned in the reminiscences of her students than any other teacher of the period. She was far more the scholar than Miss Johnson and possessed an amazing facility in many lines. She afterward taught in Wheaton and in Miss Johnson's school in Boston. A Wheaton student said of her, "She was the first teacher to send me to original sources." Her last years were spent in the home of her nephew, Gen. George H. Adams, of Plymouth, N. H., where she died in 1909.

These experienced women helped Miss Johnson face the problem of diminishing numbers in the student body, a serious problem of prestige and finance. The change was a marked one. In 1847, after the ruling that the fifth class should be discontinued and no girls admitted under thirteen years of age, the school still numbered two hundred and fifty-eight, twenty-five per cent of whom were day pupils, and nine teachers were employed. In 1860 there were one hundred and three girls, nearly fifty per cent of whom were day pupils, while six teachers and two lecturers were necessary. The number of students continued to decrease till 1863 when there were only sixty-eight, half of whom were day scholars, and only four teachers and two lecturers sufficed.

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Some reasons for this falling off are easily discovered. The high schools were everywhere springing up, and the decline of the academies beginning. Even though an academy could offer a curriculum superior to the local high school, the exemption from tuition fees naturally attracted many. Bradford had no high school till 1866, but Haverhill's began in 1841. One might have expected that the founding of Merrimack Academy in East Bradford (Groveland) in 1822, of one in Topsfield in 1828, in Haverhill in 1829, and of Abbot Academy in the same year would have added seriously to Bradford's competitors, but as we have seen, the numbers increased embarrassingly and the representation broadened. In 1856, for instance, there were three girls from California, and others from Louisiana, Alabama, Iowa, Indiana, and Montreal. The competition of the new high schools was different; they were objects of local pride, though they were still suffering from growing pains, they called for patriotic support.

A second reason for the smaller numbers in the early sixties was, of course, the Civil War. This is an incalculable factor, however, for while the country was in the throes of the conflict some men were amassing wealth and — presto! — their daughters must “go to boarding school.” Another reason which makes it difficult to weigh the effect of the war upon the school is that, owing to large business interests in the South, Miss Johnson's family had strong leanings to the Democratic party, while the principal herself held to the difficult path of neutrality. Moreover, there were a few prominent southern girls in the school whose popularity made proselytes to the southern cause among New England girls. The story is often told of the group of students dressed in deep mourning, who walked solemnly around Bradford and Haverhill on the day

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of Lincoln's re-election, causing some who recognized local girls to inquire who was dead at the Academy.

From the viewpoint of seventy years later we can see that a fundamental cause for a loss of prestige was the ingrowing habit of the school already noted. Some of the trustees realized this at the time, for soon after the resignation of David C. Kimball, who had been on the Board forty years, and on the day of the resignation of Mr. Greenleaf and Rev. Jesse Page, they selected two Boston men, Samuel D. Warren and Julius A. Palmer, and put them on the executive committee. The time had come for infusing new blood!

But we must pause at the retirement of Mr. Greenleaf. A graduate of 1863 recently wrote, "I received my diploma from the trembling hands of Mr. Greenleaf." In September he sent to the Board, over which he had presided for thirteen years, and of which he had been a member for forty-one, this laconic letter:

Bradford, Mass. Sept. 3, 1863.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF BRADFORD ACADEMY,

From this day I resign my office as Trustee of Bradford Academy,

Yours very respectfully,

BENJAMIN GREENLEAF.

The trustees gave him the title of President *emeritus* with the hope and expectation that he would continue to meet with the Board and visit the school as formerly.

Albeit in his seventy-seventh year, he was still in the habit of dropping into the classroom, and in stentorian voice demanding, "Three and a half times three and a half? Four and a half times four and a half?" "All the time he seemed to be trying to be severe but really was not," says one who remembers his twinkling eyes. "At the time of his death (October 29,



EDWARD SILAS TOBEY



SAMUEL DENNIS WARREN

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1864) we were all at the services in the church and passed in procession before the bier as it lay in the vestibule." So passed a stalwart friend of Bradford Academy, whose virility and integrity stamped themselves permanently upon the school.

The change which had begun in the Board of Trustees rapidly gathered momentum, but not by chance. The scholarly minister of the Bradford church, Rev. Nathan Munroe, had since his entrance on the Board in 1844 been carrying on the duties of guardian angel somewhat as Parson Allen had done. He had constantly worked to increase the library, and since 1852 had been secretary of the Board. When his health failed and he was obliged to resign his pastorate in Bradford, he retained his home in the village and his place among the trustees, partly, no doubt, because his daughters had entered the school. The falling off in attendance gave him grave anxiety. It is said that he and Mr. Page used to argue as to which would make the better location for a "female college," Atkinson or Bradford. In his new position as editor of the *Boston Recorder* he met men with broad views and generous impulses toward such experiments as Mount Holyoke Seminary, Oxford Seminary in Ohio, and Oberlin College where women were admitted. So clearly did Mr. Munroe think out a plan for the salvation of Bradford Academy that when openings occurred on the Board he was ready with suggestions. In his own words as secretary:

"The first effort of the Secretary in the capacity of Agent (as appointed by the Board) was to effect a change in the Board of Trustees which would divest the institution of its local character, and put it in a position to appeal to the Christian public for the means to build it up."

The addition of Mr. Warren to the trustees was to make history at Bradford, but the source of his interest is not im-

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mediately apparent. It probably came from a desire to help a worthy but rather unpopular cause, the education of women, as an investment which he had the foresight to value correctly.

Samuel Dennis Warren was born in Grafton, Mass., in 1817, one of ten children. The early death of his father threw him upon his own resources, and he went to Boston at fifteen, finding employment with Grant and Daniels, paper dealers. At twenty-one he became a junior partner and gave himself whole-heartedly to the manufacture of paper. He was still a young man when he bought the Cumberland Mills near Portland where the rest of his business life centered. Thus far it is like the story of many a self-made man, but he was not content to make fine paper and nothing else. His marriage to Susan G. Clarke, the daughter of a Congregational clergyman in Boston, and many other associations deepened his sense of stewardship, so that he was soon known for his philanthropies. He was one of the original members of the Mt. Vernon Church, Boston. The beautiful home at Cedar Hill, Waltham, and that on Mt. Vernon Street were open to many an advocate of good causes.

The other new member of the Executive Committee in 1863 was Julius A. Palmer of Boston, both business man and scholar, and at one time member of the Massachusetts Senate. He had known Bradford, for he had sent two daughters to be under Miss Hasseltine, and his summer home in Boxford was within a neighborly distance. That home was later to be associated by many with the names of his distinguished sons, Rev. Frederick Palmer of Andover and Cambridge and Prof. George Herbert Palmer of Harvard University.

A month after the election of Mr. Warren and Mr. Palmer, Dr. Rufus Anderson was chosen a member of the Board and

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immediately made president. More than fifty years had passed since the boy Rufus Anderson was taken to Salem by his father to witness the ordination of the first missionaries of the American Board, and to see again Nancy Judson and Harriet Newell, the missionary brides. Now in his sixty-seventh year he was asked to take a new responsibility upon his already burdened shoulders. For twenty-seven years he had been in the service of the American Board, and for more than half that time its Foreign Secretary, an office by which he gained an intimate knowledge of all the activities of that growing organization. Why, then, did he accept the presidency of the Bradford Board? Because he knew its history along missionary lines, and because he believed there was a great future for an academy which could train women for Christian service at home and abroad. He had been a friend and advisor of Mary Lyon while she was raising funds for Mt. Holyoke, and had given the second anniversary address of that seminary in 1839.

At the same meeting at which Dr. Anderson was made president the trustees created a Board of Visitors, six men being appointed to serve for two, four, or six years, according to a plan used by Andover Seminary. The need of such an advisory board was the obvious conservatism and the frequent apathy of the Board of Trustees, a close corporation whose members were elected for life. Four of these "Visitors" were laymen, two clergymen; two lived in Haverhill and the others in Boston or elsewhere. Their duties of conferring with the trustees, visiting the school, and giving advice had grown out of those of the Examining Committee, but the latter had been appointed each year and was rather haphazard in its functions. The first man named as visitor was Abner Kingman of Boston, known in the business world as the head of a commission house,

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and to men of Dr. Anderson's circle as a deacon of the old Essex Street Church, where he aided many an educational and missionary enterprise. He was frequently invited to the meetings of the Bradford trustees for conference in the next few years.

Evidently a closer tie between trustees and visitors was needed, for three days after the creation of the new board Rev. J. T. McCollom resigned from the former to become chairman of the latter, and his place as trustee was filled by the election of a friend of Mr. Warren, Mr. Edward Silas Tobey. How fortunate the trustees were to secure the services of Mr. Tobey will appear from a brief enumeration of some of his activities. He had been one of the organizers of the Boston Board of Trade and its president during the first years of the Civil War. In that capacity and as director of two successive steamship companies which sold iron ships to the government, he attended a conference in New York to discuss methods of defense against the iron ram *Merrimac*. His interest in education is indicated by the fact that when the General Court was considering the founding of the Institute of Technology, Mr. Tobey addressed the Educational Committee in its interests, and it was through his personal influence that Dr. William J. Walker became identified with the Institute. At the same time Mr. Tobey was president of the Boston Y. M. C. A., trustee of Dartmouth College, and a director of scores of religious and educational organizations. Like Mr. Warren and Mr. Palmer, he was a charter member of the Mt. Vernon Church. He remained on the Bradford Board of Trustees till 1875 when he was appointed Postmaster of Boston by General Grant. Later he sent his youngest daughter to the Academy.

All was now ready for the trustees to advance; a new captain, fresh troops, and a fine *esprit de corps*. The quiet lieu-

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tenant, Mr. Munroe, had planned the campaign so well — and was it Dr. Cogswell who furnished the ammunition? — that when Dr. Anderson for the first time presided over the trustees at the Mt. Vernon Bank in Boston, December 4, 1863, all he had to do was to ask the secretary to read a paper showing the need in Eastern Massachusetts of a new “Institution for Young Ladies” and how well adapted Bradford Academy was to fill that need, provided it were entirely reorganized. Mr. Munroe was well informed on what was happening at Mt. Holyoke Seminary and at Western Female Seminary at Oxford, Ohio. He stressed the fact that girls of small means could get the best education at such seminaries, because the numbers were large, they were organized for self-help, and the buildings which had been erected by the “generosity of a beneficent public” were free of debt. Best of all, these seminaries aimed at a consecrated Christian education, such as the fashionable finishing schools and the public high schools could not furnish.

After hearing Mr. Munroe’s paper the trustees appointed a special committee to report any change in Bradford Academy which an investigation of Mt. Holyoke and Oxford might suggest, and a definite plan for buildings which would accommodate about two hundred pupils, with an estimate of costs. This committee consisted of Dr. Anderson, Mr. Munroe, Mr. Tobey, Dr. Cogswell, Mr. Warren, and Mr. Palmer, with Mr. Tobey as chairman. That committee acted with commendable speed. On March second they reported that some of their number had visited Mt. Holyoke and others had secured plans for a building. They again emphasized the great number of deserving girls who could not pay the rates in academies and private schools and cited the two hundred who had been refused entrance at Mt. Holyoke during the current year for

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lack of space. It was certain that similar needs existed in Eastern Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire from which Bradford would be likely to draw pupils. They made the following recommendations:

1. That no pupils should be received under fifteen years of age.
2. That the attainment and culture of religious experience be the chief end of the institution, along with the cultivation of the intellectual powers.
3. That the ladies all board in the establishment and that they all take some part in the work of the family.
4. That the principal be a lady.
5. That the name be changed to Bradford Seminary for Young Ladies.
6. That a building to cost \$80,000 to \$100,000 be erected according to plans submitted by the architect, J. D. Towle. Such a building could be built all at once or only in part; the wings could be built later.

After the unanimous acceptance of this report, everybody had time to think it over. What Miss Johnson's *thoughts* were we do not know, but she sent to the trustees her resignation to take effect in July. Her action was submitted to the executive committee who persuaded her to remain another year, possibly because she saw signs of weakening among the trustees in regard to carrying out their whole program. She must have welcomed the idea of a new building, but whether she was in favor of a second Mt. Holyoke is a question. She had seen the Thornton House coöperative plan fail, and she had among her students girls who had tried in vain to adjust themselves to the rigorous régime of Miss Lyon but had developed into able happy students at Bradford. One of these has recently testified:

"The rules and regulations at Mt. Holyoke had the wrong effect on me; the life was too strict and difficult. I had the easy task of filling pitchers and glasses at table, but I was so quick it did not take half my time. I therefore had many hours of work to make up which I did not think fair, and I finally paid

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the price of the labor. At Bradford the life was freer and Miss Abby trusted us, which made me so contented I could do my school work much better than I had done at Mt. Holyoke."

All this only proves that there were other girls beside those whose needs were filled by Miss Lyon's noble program. Perhaps, too, Miss Johnson could not see that *Bradford Seminary for Young Ladies* was a more distinctive name than *Bradford Academy*, though of course *Academy* connoted co-education or a boys' school, while *Seminary* (in spite of the theological species) meant the higher education of *Young Ladies*. So much did girls prefer this term that they used *Bradford Female Seminary* for years, and the initials B. F. S. are found on class emblems and in all the autograph albums.

There is no denying the fact that the "young ladies" were few at the Academy in these war days. The graduates of 1864 numbered three and in 1860 there had been none at all. But the trustees were far from discouraged. In July the undaunted committee reported that "although the state of the currency and the consequent increase of prices are at present unfavorable to the erection of a building for the *Bradford Seminary for Young Ladies*, we still adhere with firmness to the purpose and plan stated in the report of March last." They agreed to hire Mr. Munroe to act as agent to solicit funds under the direction of the committee, and to purchase the Chadwick lot of eight acres at a price not exceeding six thousand dollars.

This was the very lot of land upon which Miss Hasseltine had looked with longing eyes for twenty-five years. Fortunately she lived long enough to know that a new Bradford Academy would rise upon that site. In October came good news. Dr. Durfee brought to the Board a subscription paper bearing eight names for as many subscriptions to the amount

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of six thousand dollars to be used for the purchase of the Chadwick land. Four of the donors were trustees, Messrs. Durfee, Tobey, Warren, Cogswell giving one thousand each; two were visitors, Messrs. Kingman and How; Deacon Farnsworth of Boston and William Carleton of Charlestown were the other two.

Then came an interesting vote — to *reconsider* the decision in regard to the character of the school and to rescind the order for a change in the charter. So we shall hear no more of the Bradford *Seminary*, but much more of the new Academy. The essentials of the plans remained. The same committee declared in March, 1865:

“We are more impressed than ever with the importance of establishing seminaries in Eastern Massachusetts for the education of ladies comparable to the colleges for men. At the present crisis in our nation’s history the question of what can be done to perpetuate and extend its religious, political and educational institutions so as to provide for its future growth can be answered in only one way; to found, multiply and enlarge schools, imbue them with sound religious principles and make them available for the masses. Notwithstanding the Civil War much more has been done during the past few years than ever before to endow colleges . . . It is not enough to endow colleges for young men; it is equally important to furnish a thorough, complete and accomplished education for ladies.”

The committee advised a raising of the standards in the Academy by adding a year of advanced study to the four years’ course, and by requiring entrance examinations. They expressly called for a study of physiology, for exercise in a gymnasium and for more emphasis on religious education. They anticipated twentieth-century methods by advising the grading of pupils by their ability into three groups, high,



DR. GEORGE COGSWELL

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average, and low, for the very reasons that are now advanced for such grouping, but of course there were then no exact methods for measuring intelligence.

There is nothing in the next catalogues to show that these suggestions were carried out except that a regular teacher in gymnastics is named—a different one for every year. These exercises were held in “Cassia Hall” once or twice a week after school hours and consisted of marching, the use of dumb-bells, and other ladylike activities. Later the addition of a fifth year of study was theoretically carried out, but the addition was at the beginning instead of at the end of the course. That is, there was a constant need of better preparation for candidates for the lowest class, a need which had been met by the recognized preparatory department which was carried on for some time in the old Academy building. The burning of that building in 1860 put an end to that plan and the hope was that the standard of the school could be kept up without a renewing of the preparatory course. In 1869, when the new Academy was nearing completion and a higher grade of scholarship was desired, the course required for graduation was extended by requiring three years of Latin and three years of French with music as an alternative for the latter. The “fourth year” studies with the addition of Latin were now called the preparatory course, and the whole could not be completed in less than five years. Thus the superiority of the Academy curriculum over the four years’ courses in the high schools was maintained.

In the matter of the new building, progress was slow, but it was the last year of the war, prices fluctuated—chiefly upward; men hardly knew what they could give, or what the costs would be. There was no Matthew Vassar in Bradford to hand over \$400,000 for a women’s college as in Pough-

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keepsie, and even there, four years elapsed between the granting of the charter and the opening of the college. The fashion for endowing schools and colleges with large gifts had not come, and "ladies' seminaries" were the least likely to receive them.

Owing to Miss Johnson's cool wisdom and equable management, the school went quietly along. At the anniversary of 1865 thirteen girls received diplomas from the hands of Dr. Anderson. One cannot help wishing that Mary E. Magrath of Gardiner, Me., might have had the opportunity of delivering a Latin Salutatory such as she was in later years to inspire (?) in her students. But the Latin Salutatory had not yet appeared in Bradford. Miss Magrath, however, had in 1864 read an essay on "My Soul and I," and at her graduation her subject was "Early Hymns of the Church."

The Anniversary Day Program was still in two parts. At the Academy hall in the morning there were a few formal recitations, but not since 1860 had the attention of the audience been taxed by a recital of Butler's prolix phrases. Of the twenty items on the whole day's program eight were musical, mostly singing, for which the responsibility rested upon Miss Charlotte Kimball and Mr. J. K. Colby. The high quality of their teaching may be judged by the superiority of the Anniversary selections over the usual sentimental songs and choruses of the day. The TOPIC dealt with a safe historical subject, "The Puritans." There were references to the close of the war in the music, and one graduate read a composition on "Peace"; the afternoon address at the Church by Rev. A. L. Stone of Boston on "Incentives to Study" could not have offended any political preferences. A much honored guest of the day was the famous "War Governor" of Massachusetts, John A. Andrew. The governor's family home was in Boxford, and he must have known of the school from many

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Boxford students. His interest in the education of girls can be found in an address made at the Maine Female Seminary in Gorham in 1859. At Bradford he made a short speech about physical education for which he made a strong plea. A Bradford schoolboy, who watched the procession from the Academy to the church, remembers the contrast between the thickset Napoleonic figure of Governor Andrew and the tall, slender form of Dr. Anderson.

For the Anniversary of the following year, July 11, 1866, Miss Johnson sent invitations to a reunion marking the end of twenty-five years in the second Academy. Class reunions at regular intervals did not come into vogue till the twentieth century, for a journey to Bradford from a distance was a serious matter even after the railroad was extended to Haverhill in 1837, but any twenty-fifth anniversary has always been a trumpet call to Bradford alumnae. Miss Johnson's printed circular stated that Miss Hasseltine would be glad to meet her former assistants and pupils once more. It asked alumnae to tell the probable time of their arrival at the boarding house and whether they would remain for the levee in the evening.

Mrs. Barrows gives a lively account of the event, of the crowds, the hospitality of the townspeople, the overworked marshals who found alumnae more interested in each other than in marching orders, the ovation given Miss Hasseltine, the letters from absent graduates. Miss Johnson had made the occasion a success but, true to her habitual aversion to speech making, she saw to it that Dr. Cogswell gave the formal welcome. School and alumnae joined in singing a new *Alma Mater* song written for the day by Annie Sawyer Downs. Reminiscences in prose and verse were read and sung. Those of Mrs. Clara Briggs Robinson (one of the seven Briggs sisters) contains some pictures of 1833.

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I remember, I remember, the old brown building well,
Which then we called Academy; black Joel rang the bell;
The narrow hall that ran between the boys' room and our own,
That both by age and wear and tear had pretty sombre grown;

I remember, I remember, the old church low and quaint,
Its little windows and its porch, and not a bit of paint;
The sounding board, and pulpit high, and then the deacon's seat,
The square high pews, with railing round, and all kept very neat.
The galleries were our choice, I think — I speak for one 'tis true
It brought us near the minister and favorite laddies too.

The afternoon meeting of the alumnae was like that of 1853, but now there were thirteen more classes to enjoy reunions. Again Miss Hasseltine was the center, presiding in her accustomed place. In her seventy-eighth year, with fifty-one years of service of the school to look back upon, she spoke strongly and hopefully to her old students of her joy in their successes and the spirit which they had carried from the school into their family and community life. All must have felt that it was the last time she would address them, for she had not her former strength, yet she appeared again in the evening and enjoyed the informal sociability of the crowd, all of whom wished to speak with her. Even at this distance one can feel the reverence and affection which encircled her at this last public event of her life. Seeing how her wishes and her ideals for the school were carried out by Miss Johnson, her old friends knew that she could lay down her burden with a quiet mind.

Many a school head has wondered how Miss Hasseltine kept her health and carried for so many years the heavy load of responsibility and long hours of work. She surely could not have done it without unusual physical vitality; secondly, she always lived in her own home where a devoted sister cared for her; finally, she combined a beneficent sense of humor with a

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religious security that nothing could greatly disturb, a steadfast faith in the wisdom and goodness of the God she served.

These three factors made it possible for her to be present at the reunion. Shortly before that event she was driving, as was her habit, over the Haverhill bridge, when her horse took fright and threw her from the chaise. She was unconscious for some time and in grave danger, but she recovered sufficiently to go through with the taxing occasion. From that time, however, she failed both mentally and physically, but fortunately she was released before many months of suffering were demanded of her. In those last months she and her sister Mary were greatly cheered by frequent visits from their niece Nancy, Mrs. J. S. Sanborn of Sherbrooke, Quebec. A nephew whom the sisters had brought up from childhood was also there, ready for instant service, while a faithful friend, Mrs. Proctor, acted as nurse. In the intervals when her mind was clear she would recite Psalm after Psalm and all her favorite hymns, "God moves in a mysterious way," "Rock of Ages," and most frequently,

"The Lord our God is full of might,
The winds obey his will;
He speaks, and in his heavenly height,
The rolling sun stands still."

On the morning of January thirteenth, 1868, the intrepid spirit passed to greater freedom.

At the church service on the sixteenth her former pastor, and friend, Rev. J. T. McCollom, spoke fittingly of the life and work of the noble woman so many had gathered to honor. Other tributes followed, the most notable one being the address at the following Anniversary in July, 1868, delivered by Rev. Leonard Withington, D.D., of Old Newbury. Dr. Withington adapted his remarks to the student body, some of whom

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had little immediate knowledge of Miss Hasseltine. Just fifty years before he had been asked to give the annual address at the school, and since that time he had known the Academy and Miss Hasseltine well. He maintained that she had been able to steer the school on a straight course of development during a period of many changes because she had kept true to the theory that "mind, mind alone is the true object of education." He had been much impressed by her teaching of two complementary subjects, Playfair's *Euclid* and Butler's *Analogy of Religion*, because the former taught pure reasoning, leading to absolute proof, while the latter reached only the highest probability. He closed by describing an imaginary interview with the spirit of Miss Hasseltine, in which she said, "Tell them I am only a stepping stone."

CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE OLD BUILDING TO THE NEW

1868-1875

ONE bright morning in early May, 1868, a group of girls stood by the gate of the boarding house of Bradford Academy awaiting the coming of their beloved principal and friend Miss Abby Johnson. There was a promise of summer in the air; dandelions were scattered like golden ducats all over the fields. Armed with a light pick and shovel they escorted their leader across the road and over the stone wall into the great field along Joel's Road and Main Street. The big willow was its only ornament, even then a thing of beauty.

"South and west of this tree, at a spot designated by a stake, the senior class broke ground for the erection of the long expected new building. Miss Johnson upturned the first sod, and the members of the Class of '68 each in turn proudly followed her example.

"We watched the workmen with great interest during the following weeks. The immense cellar, growing every day, seemed to our unsophisticated eyes large enough to be the foundation of the Coliseum."

Thus wrote Mrs. Mary Barstow Ward from California in May, 1929, at the request of those who wished that this act of the Class of '68 might receive recognition at the one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary of the school.

The students were not the only ones who had been waiting long for these beginnings. The trustees had promised that if the building were not erected within five years from the time the land was bought the donations would be returned. Between August, 1867, and June, 1868, they made their own

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contributions and secured others, conditional upon the commencement of building within the year. The legal document bearing signatures and seals lists the following donors whose gifts totaled eighty-five thousand dollars:

- *Samuel D. Warren, Boston
- *William A. Russell, Lawrence
- *Ezra Farnsworth, Boston
- *George Cogswell, Bradford
- *Nathan Durfee, Fall River
- *E. S. Tobey, Boston
- Moses How, Haverhill
- Samuel Hopkinson, Bradford
- William Carleton, Charlestown
- Frederick Jones, Boston
- D. N. Skillings, Boston
- George H. E. Johnson, Bradford
- Waldo Maynard, Boston

*Trustee

About a hundred thousand was needed but here was enough to warrant a beginning.

One must always regret that the man who gave the movement its impetus did not live to see the first sod turned in the Chadwick field. Rev. Nathan Munroe died July 8, 1866, a few days before his daughter Sarah (Mrs. James Bird) graduated from the Academy, the oldest daughter, Mary, having completed her course two years earlier. Fortunately the daughters were able for many years to keep the home on Chestnut Street where in the hospitable living room, or on the porch overlooking the garden, one might learn of an earlier Bradford or see mementoes of foreign travel. The name of Mr. Munroe is kept in the school by his portrait and by the



MISS ABBY H. JOHNSON AND THE CLASS OF 1868



MISS ANNIE E. JOHNSON AND THE CLASS OF 1877

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scholarship fund given in his memory by the daughters and the son, John A. Munroe, of Omaha, Nebraska.

Having secured so substantial a sum the trustees felt justified in appealing to the General Court for aid. Their petition was received favorably by the Committee on Education who recommended a grant of twenty-five thousand dollars. All the trustees received, however, was permission to hold additional property producing an income of thirty thousand dollars.

On Anniversary Day, two months after the breaking of the ground, the graduating class took part in another ceremony. The morning of that day heard the Memorial to Miss Hasseltine, the builder of old Bradford, and the afternoon saw the placing of the corner stone of the new Academy. Mrs. Ward continues her story:

"The laying of the corner stone was the great event in the annals of the class. In the presence of a distinguished company the box containing many interesting documents was placed within the corner stone. The honored president, through whose efforts the funds had been raised, handled first the silver trowel which had been appropriately engraved for the occasion. Miss Johnson deftly smoothed the mortar over a given spot, followed by each member of the class who handled the trowel, thrilled with reverence, pride, and thankfulness that to our Class of '68 was given that high honor."

With the documents placed in the corner stone was a silver plate engraved with the names of the trustees, building committee, the architects, Emerson and Fehmer, and the builders, Clement and Cressey.

The building committee consisted of Dr. George Cogswell, Deacon Ezra Farnsworth, Samuel D. Warren, and William A. Russell. Since Dr. Cogswell was living in Bradford, he was intimately connected with the management of the school, and,

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having done most of the work in overseeing the erection of the second building in 1841, he was the logical one to take charge at this time. This he did with such devotion that scarcely a brick was laid without his supervision.

It would be interesting to know whether the excellent plan of the building was entirely original with the architects, Messrs. Emerson and Fehmer, or whether they or the committee found suggestions in contemporary schools or colleges. The trustees' investigation of Mt. Holyoke might have resulted in an imitation of that building, but a comparison of the 1837 structure at South Hadley and that of 1868 at Bradford shows no real resemblance except the general idea of including everything under one roof. Miss Lyon planned and supervised the building for which she had so heroically toiled. Her emphasis on the religious life of the girls is seen in the plan of the rooms, one for two girls, with a large closet which could be used for personal devotions. At Bradford the distinguishing feature of the students' quarters was the three-room suite of two bedrooms and a sitting room for four girls. This is somewhat like the first Vassar building, opened in September, 1865, but is on a smaller scale. The old "Main" at Vassar still provides groups of small rooms for two to six girls with a common entry opening from a long corridor which has windows along its entire length. At Bradford the sitting room of the three-room suites opens from each side of the long corridor which, therefore, has windows only at the ends of the building. The Bradford architects did not forget the closets as Matthew Vassar is said to have done.

The Class of 1868 was fortunate not only in its participation in the building ceremonies but in its membership. Mary C. Barstow (Mrs. Samuel Ward) had distinguished herself by her musical ability, and was soon to return to teach piano and

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to serve the school in unnumbered ways and after her marriage as trustee. Laura Bliss (Mrs. George A. Miner), the first of four sisters, nieces of Mr. Warren, to study at Bradford, was many years later the first president of the New England Bradford Club, and gave generously of her time and interest to the school. The Connor sisters from Fairfield, Me., one of whom afterward graduated at Vassar, Sarah Farnsworth, daughter of Deacon Ezra Farnsworth (Mrs. James F. Hunnewell), the two step-daughters of Nancy Hasseltine Sanborn from Sherbrooke, Quebec—but one cannot discriminate in that interesting group!

In the fall of 1868 the girls must have watched with eagerness the building operations, but Nina Quiner and her classmates of '69 soon found that there was no probability of their living in the building. Little was done during cold weather, so progress was slow. At Anniversary the assembly hall was ready for use, but even the stairs were not entirely finished so the approach to graduation was an exciting ascent over rough boards to the third floor. Dr. Alexander McKenzie was the speaker of the day. Equally, if not more interesting, were the remarks of Dr. Cogswell who explained the unfinished equipment and stated that the building would be dedicated when completely paid for.

For that purpose the trustees secured gifts from merchants with whom they were dealing and many other friends. The following donors presented the sum of \$4,424.58 on January 1, 1869: James R. Nichols, M.D., William Carleton, J. S. Clagstone & Co., Palmer Bachelder Co., Proceeds of fair, etc., Laburton Johnson, Joseph L. Foss, Mason & Hamlin, Chickering & Son.

Instead of rummage sales and bridge parties, bazaars were held. One would like to know the proceeds of a lecture given

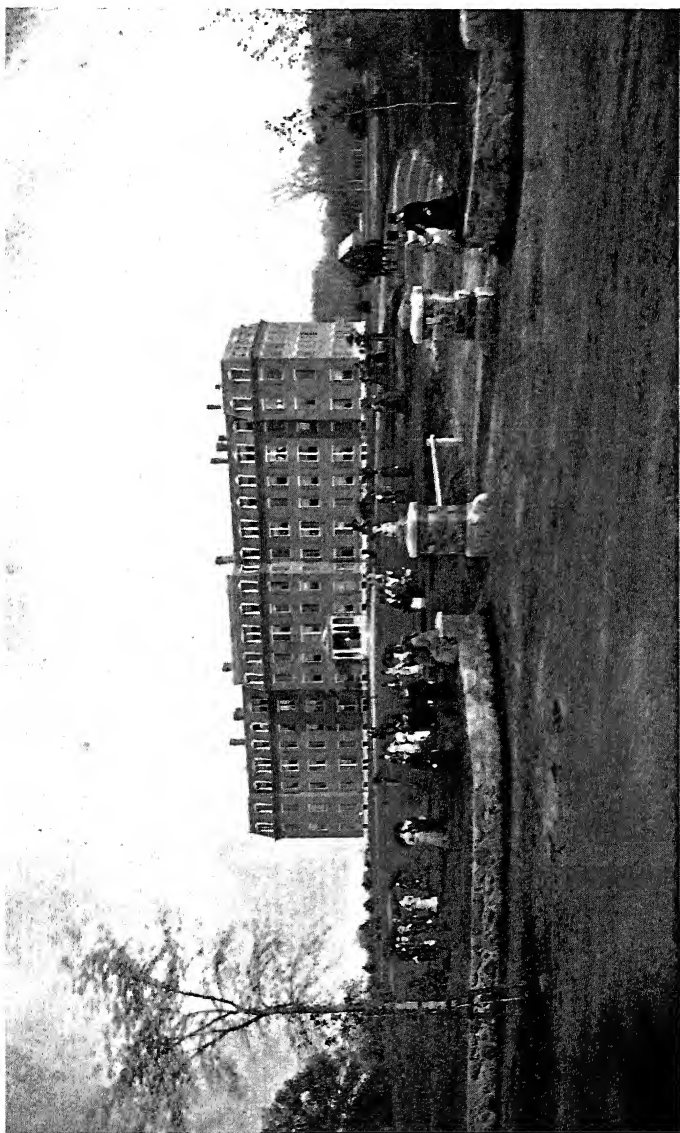
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at Mr. Warren's Boston home by Rev. John Lord, D.D., on "St. Jerome and Paula" in aid of the building fund. Our only evidence of this event is a gilt-edged ticket which almost makes one visualize the Beacon Hill audience; ladies in chignons, hoop skirts and lace shawls; bewhiskered gentlemen in Prince Alberts of the best broadcloth; all listening to the speaker's ejaculations on the differences between the asceticism of the fourth and the fifteenth centuries. Let us hope that refreshments were served.

In the fall a circular was issued announcing that the building would be finished by December first. "The house will accommodate one hundred and thirty young ladies as family boarders, and furnish conveniences for an equal number of day pupils from the surrounding towns."

And what was it going to cost to be a Bradford girl under the new conditions? A brief statement of the increase of prices in this decade, so like that of our own time, may not be inopportune. In 1861 and 1862 board and tuition (including French or Latin) came to \$132 per year; in 1864 and 1865 the prices of supplies were so variable that the trustees could not determine the cost of board before the beginning of the year. In 1867 and 1868 the total fee was \$275, and for 1870 it was announced as \$305. It is to be remembered that the rates in the boarding house did not include fuel and lights; nevertheless the doubling of the cost of a year at Bradford within this decade was outdone in speed by the same increase and for the same reason in the twentieth century, when rates rose from \$600 in 1916 to \$1,200 in 1921.

At last another spring day came, May 11, 1870, the day of dedication. Invitations had been sent widely by the trustees, and a special car from Boston at seven-thirty A.M. was offered as an inducement, and still better, that Rev. Phillips



BRADFORD ACADEMY, 1878

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Brooks of Boston would give the address of dedication. There is a tradition without documentary evidence, but probably true, that on the train when the trustees were once more counting the subscriptions which had not yet reached the needed hundred thousand, Mr. Brooks asked with surprise, "But can you dedicate a building with a debt on it?" Whereupon Mr. Warren—and perhaps others did their part—wrote a check for the balance, some eleven or twelve thousand dollars, in addition to his previous gifts.

Many people beside old friends and alumnae were curious to see "one of the most commodious school buildings in the state." Up they came in a downpour of rain from the Bradford "depot," into the rough driveway over the stubbly pasture, innocent of shrub or tree except the great willow, to the small entrance porch. They gazed up at the bare brick walls, four stories high, topped by a mansard roof. To all but the trustees the bold outline was an ugly skyscraper, set inappropriately on the hill of Bradford village. The editor of the *Gazette* regretted the lack of any relief of light and shade, the long walls pierced by windows which were there for the sole purpose of furnishing light and air. Yet the same critic was thankful that "no meretricious fligree marred its severe simplicity." It took time to prove that the Bradford plans had a fine proportion which lent itself to decoration, and when the wings were added the whole structure took on an air of beauty and permanence.

Up the long flights of stairs toiled the multitude and filled all the spaces around and behind the student body which occupied the center of the hall. On the "rostrum" were all the clergy, trustees, and members of the State Board of Education, among them Abner Phipps, Agent of the State Board.

One can imagine the anxiety of Mr. Colby as the girls sang

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the "Gloria" from Farmer's Mass. Dr. Cogswell's speech delivering the keys to the trustees, Dr. Anderson's as he presented the key to Miss Johnson, the dedicatory ode written by an alumna and sung by the girls to "Auld Lang Syne," proceeded all in proper form and dignity, while a few in the audience waited with some impatience, watching the keen face of a strikingly tall young man who had been ushered, with some deference, to his seat on the platform. Dr. Anderson arose and introduced the rector of Trinity Church, Boston — the Reverend Phillips Brooks — who would deliver the address of dedication upon the subject of the "True Uses of Education."

It had been whispered that some good people had been disturbed by the idea that the chief speaker should be an Episcopalian. If so, they were disarmed by his opening words:

"When I was asked to speak at the dedication of this new building, I felt as if no stranger's voice or hand ought to have anything to do with this day of exultation and thanksgiving, for it seemed almost like a family gathering where a strange face, however cordially welcomed, could not fail to disturb the confidence and harmony of the home table. But when I came to realize . . . that anyone was welcome on this day of welcome who found in the history of this good school, with all its bright tone, and hard work, and earnest piety, and noble fruits, something which inspired him—then I did not hesitate to come. . . .

"Here is a new school-house set on its hill for men to see, held up today especially in the proud hands of men who have seen it in their dreams for years. . . . Sumptuous and stately, it looks abroad over the land, hiding in no valley, but looking across the fields where men sow and reap, as if it need not be ashamed before that primal industry; looking across the river to the town, . . . as if it had as good a right to be as any biggest, boldest factory of them all. But why? What is the use

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of the school-house? The justification of the school, like that of the farm or the factory, must be found in the products which it sends out into the world. . . .

"Scholarship may produce a prophet, a philosopher, a worker or a saint. . . . No masculine depth of voice or weight of hand can have the exclusive right to rebuke sin or cry out for truth, or stir the heavy wheels of work, or pray or struggle after good. To all women as to all men, beckon the great ambitions of prophet, philosopher, worker and saint."

As the speaker's words flowed in that swift torrent so characteristic of Dr. Brooks, the audience felt that the great truths he was compressing into a half hour might have held their attention for a much longer time.

Did the girls in the Class of 1870 and the undergraduates realize that Dr. Brooks was suggesting the equality of men and women in the vocations as well as in the ideals of life? Possibly they did, at least some of them acted upon it in later years. Such was their admiration for the young rector at the time that a conundrum was shortly in circulation: "Why are waterfalls (the coiffure of 1870) so fashionable at Bradford?" "Because the girls have Brooks on the brain."

Even though women might be prophets, philosophers, workers or saints they did not yet at Bradford, except on graduation day, indulge in public speaking, therefore Miss Johnson received the key in silence, but in music they had long been heard. The celebration was continued in the evening by a concert in the new hall. Familiar names are on the program—Mr. J. K. Colby, Miss Barstow, Wulf Fries the 'cellist, and Mr. Samuel Morse Downs. After several years of teaching Mr. Colby was at this time passing on his baton to Mr. Downs, as Miss Barstow was succeeding Miss Charlotte Kimball. All the performers that evening freely contributed their services.

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There was no money, indeed, in the Bradford treasury for anything but the barest necessities. A debt of twenty thousand dollars which had accumulated in the preceding decade remained unpaid until 1873 when the trustees who had already given so much united to pay it off. A pencilled scrap of paper in the handwriting of Harrison E. Chadwick, the clerk, tells the story:

Warren	\$5000
Jones	4000
Nichols	2500
W. A. Russell	2000
Farnsworth	2000
Durfee	2500

Another event of 1870 indicative of the new beginning at Bradford was the formation of the Alumnae Association; in fact, one wonders that it had not been organized before. On the day of dedication a committee of graduates drew up a plan which they submitted at Anniversary Day in July to a larger group of alumnae who organized the Association then and there. An account of its development and activities will be given in a later chapter.

For the student body who spent the first entire year in the present building the revised curriculum went into effect. Miss Magrath then began her long reign in the department of ancient languages which now assumed great importance because three years of Latin were required for graduation. To be sure, Cicero received scant attention and the girls followed the wanderings of Aeneas through only three or four books, but what they failed to get in appreciation of Latin literature was made up to them in "mental discipline." Were not the subjunctive mood, the ethical dative, and the objective genitive invented for that sole purpose? The girl who carried a

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small bottle to the Latin room to catch her anticipated tears did not expect to shed them over Dido's fate. The daily regimen of conjugating and construing bore no apparent relation to any expression of human intercourse or art, but the spokesman for the examining committee, Rev. Mr. Hyde of Haverhill, reported on Anniversary Day that he had never seen more thorough work in Latin in any school or college. When in 1875 and on successive years the honor of delivering a Latin Salutatory was conferred upon the graduate who stood second in academic rank, and her fellow students heard fluent Latin phrases fall from lips which had hitherto never used the first person, present tense, the irony of the situation never failed to test their company manners. Did the Reverend Mr. Hyde think that the salutations to classmates and teachers were the logical consequence of three years of "*ut* takes the subjunctive of purpose"?

From the Caesar class one went, armed with Greenleaf's algebra or that sheepskin covered geometry bearing the cryptic title *Davies Legendre*, to have one's mind further disciplined by Mrs. Sarah Kimball Hammond, a graduate of 1855, who in her unmathematical hours lived in the old Kimball Tavern, the home of her ancestors, where she had previously carried on for many years a private school for the children of Bradford.

The department of modern languages was well equipped. Various Messieurs, necessary for the proper Gallic atmosphere, came and went, while most of the real teaching was done by Miss Brownell who for eleven years opened the doors and led her students into the joy of French language and literature. She taught other subjects, too, trained the seniors for their topic, and added to the Anniversary programs "French Colloquies." Later, as Mrs. Lyman Stevens of Con-

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cord, N. H., she kept up her connection with her former students with the same unflagging enthusiasm until the end of her long life.

The versatile Mrs. Wilhelmina Downes, a native of Germany, whose home was across the street from the Academy, taught German over a long period of years whenever it was called for and assisted also in the teaching of painting and drawing. Following Mrs. Downes, Prof. Oscar Faulhaber of Haverhill taught both German and French for a few years. His jovial personality added considerable life to the school routine, especially when he trained his students for a French play. On the Anniversary Day when the Haverhill graduates in trailing white muslins had to cross the river by ferry because the bridge was being repaired, Professor Faulhaber had to come over in the same way. While on the ferry his immaculate shirt front became badly splattered with mud, but his distress was relieved on arrival at the Academy by one of the students whose nimble fingers applied white chalk to the spots, and all was well.

But where was Miss Pinkerton all this time? All those who remember her will readily believe that she was busy oiling the wheels of the new academic machinery by efficient executive and clerical work, while teaching a full schedule of history or literature or both, with logic and "mental philosophy" thrown in for good measure.

Mary Farwell Pinkham was born in Derry Village, N. H., in 1837. For several years she attended the excellent Female Seminary in Charlestown, Mass., and she had done but little teaching when she came to Bradford in 1864. She and Miss Twitchell then received for salary three hundred seventy-five dollars with board in the Boarding House, but Miss Johnson, the principal, had only five hundred. For 1870 there are ex-

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tant manuscript receipts showing salaries received for the winter term of fourteen weeks as follows:

Salome C. Twitchell	\$227.50
Mary F. Pinkerton	245.00
Mary C. Barstow	202.50

In these days before school deans, secretaries, and house mothers were thought of, teachers helped keep accounts, sold textbooks, made out reports, and were on duty as "corridor teacher" twenty-four hours of the day, seven days of the week, which meant that they must investigate strange noises, or an odor of candy cooking over the single gas jet, and watch to see that lights were out on the hour. No higher praise could be given a teacher than to say that she did all these necessary things with complete fairness and without "sneaking." This Miss Pinkerton did, for she had the power of discriminating between essentials and non-essentials. Slightly lame and frequently ill, she almost never left the school, so that she did all the things that nobody else had time to do. She planned the recitation schedule and made each girl's course. In her teaching of literature she combined a keen appreciation with almost scientific precision. Vague remarks about beauty of style were always met by a swift, "Just-what-do-you-mean-by-that?" After 1873 she was too ill to return, and remained in her home in Derry till the fall of 1876 when she came back to serve the school unstintingly for another decade.

Meantime the study of literature at Bradford had been greatly enriched by the services of a man whose name is familiar to every student of Shakespeare.

Henry Norman Hudson, the Shakespearean scholar, was, for over nine years (1869-1878), not merely an occasional lecturer but a member of the Bradford Academy faculty. His

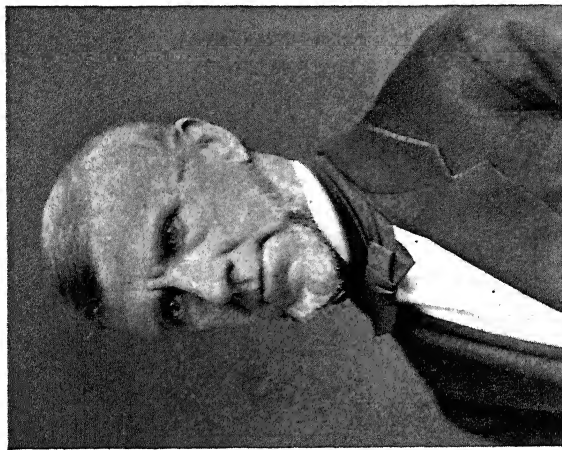
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tall, spare figure, flashing eyes, and impetuous speech impressed the students of his literature classes at once, and the longer the course the greater their enthusiasm. His biography is the story of how, caught by a passion for study and interpretation of the greatest minds of English literature, he became a veritable apostle of culture in the days when the lyceum platforms gave opportunities for the spread of his gospel. Born in Cornwall, Vt., in 1814 his ambition for an education carried him through three years of apprenticeship to a coachmaker, till he entered Middlebury College. There the tradition has it that he was so poor that he carried his shoes in his hands as he walked to and from college. Did he comfort himself, meanwhile, with the thought that Samuel Johnson furiously refused the gift of a much needed pair of shoes? Graduating in 1840 he was soon teaching and lecturing in Huntsville and Mobile, Ala., and later in Ohio. He had already gained a reputation as a lecturer when he came in 1844 to Boston where he was received in the critical circles of the "Athens of America" with real warmth. This we may readily believe for he soon counted among his friends George Ticknor, Theodore Parker, and Richard Henry Dana.

When or where he studied theology is not clear, but he was ordained in the Episcopal Church in 1849. He was at one time the editor of *The Churchman* and started the *Church Monthly*, but he seems never to have had charge of a parish. His absorbing interest was to inspire and promote the study of Shakespeare by aesthetic criticism like that of Coleridge, Schlegel, Hazlitt, and Lamb. The day had not come in the United States for expert textual emendation and criticism. The huge volumes of Furness were still in the making. Hudson's lectures attracted crowds in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities, so the public was acquainted with the quality



ABBY H. JOHNSON



HENRY N. HUDSON

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of his work by the time he published his first edition of Shakespeare in 1851.

His home in Cambridge was in an environment most congenial for his work, so it must have meant a very considerable sacrifice for him to volunteer as a chaplain in the Civil War. Of that experience we should know little were it not for his bitter controversy with Gen. Benjamin F. Butler. *Campaigning with Butler*, a seventy-five page pamphlet of violent invective, makes strange reading now, but it throws into relief a personality which was characterized later as the "American Carlyle."

Did any Bradford girl of the seventies know the story of the war-time scandal, of how Hudson had been arrested on an order from General Butler on charge of absence without leave, kept a prisoner for five weeks without trial, and released only by an order from General Grant on the request of a mysterious lady just before the surrender at Appomattox? Butler's charge was not ungrounded, for Hudson's absence from his regiment had been prolonged at his own discretion on account of the death of his son and the illness of his wife, but the real reason for Butler's attack was that Hudson had, as a war correspondent, published accounts of Butler's military blunders. Our interest in the incident is not so much historical as literary, for the vitriolic scorn poured upon Butler by his victimized chaplain is still a blazing lava bed of sarcasm and wrath. A sample will suffice:

"You a just man! and comprehending no higher force in human affairs than terror and torture! As for your sense or idea of justice, one half of it, I think, must have been in high glee when you juggled and spirited off — whither, O whither — that \$50,000 of gold in New Orleans. For the other half, why, when a Shylock or a Butler talks of justice he means re-

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venge. The smell of blood sweeter to such than the perfumes of Arabia, is all the sympathy with justice *they* have. And so in the name and behalf of this august power, 'whose seat is the bosom of God, whose voice is the harmony of the world,' it may with special fitness be said or sung, — note it my General, —

"The man that hath no music in himself
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
Let no such man be trusted."

(This, because Butler was known to dislike music.)

Something of this fiery scorn found expression occasionally in his classroom when any form of hypocrisy was broached. "Beware the over-pious, young ladies!" he would shout, shaking a denouncing finger.

He enjoyed the deference paid him by the ladies of the faculty and his students, but he could not resist an occasional shock to their rigid sense of decorum. Lecturing on Bacon, he announced that he would have much to say on the essay on *Love*. This added certain teachers to his audience, including a typical spinster who had expressed a dislike of that essay. Warming to his subject, Mr. Hudson said, "I believe in falling in love, in loving like thunder; some people don't understand that; some never have the experience; others don't marry because they never had the chance." Whereupon, the teacher, unfriendly to Bacon, left the room so abruptly that she tore her dress on a bench as she retreated.

Mr. Hudson's former Bradford students must have read with satisfaction in 1880 the laudatory notices of the *Harvard Shakespeare* in twenty volumes. There seems to have been no lessening of his vigor as lecturer and instructor up to the time of his death in Cambridge in 1886.

The English department of this period has another well-known name to its credit. Lucy Larcom, the New England

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poet, spent a year (1873-1874) as a teacher of literature. Although it had been agreed that she should use half of each day for her own work, she found the life too confining, and she did not get the fine results which her residence at Wheaton had brought forth; yet one of her Bradford students said, "My year of English with her was one of the wonderful things that came into my life." She helped the girls start a literary society called "Candle Light." The few entries in the secretary's book kept by Hattie Stoddard show how futile were such attempts. In this case it was soon, "Out, out, brief candle!" The girls must have known many of Miss Larcom's popular poems like "Hannah Binding Shoes," but perhaps they stood in awe of her as a poet and therefore found her somewhat unapproachable.

In 1873, under the inspiration of the English department, some enterprising seniors and juniors started a school magazine called *The Academy Glimmer*. Four manuscript numbers of from twenty-five to thirty-five pages each—December, 1873, February, April and June, 1874—have found their way back to the Academy. How many duplicates of these beautifully copied magazines were made is uncertain. If there are copies stored away among the mementoes of Bradford graduates they should get them out and feel pride in the excellent work of their contemporaries. The flavor of some of the humor has evaporated of course, but touches here and there show that Bradford life has been much the same throughout the years. The first number, edited by Annie McPhail and Ida Boutwell, both of 1874, contains a mock heroic poem "after the manner of *Horatius*," celebrating the victory of Mr. Elliot and Dennis over some disturbers of Bradford peace:

Then out spoke noble Edwin,
Guardian of our fair home,

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"To every man upon the earth,
Some trials hard must come,
How shall I meet mine better
Than facing roughs like these?
I'll save those gentle maidens
From their annoying foes!"
Then out spake gallant Dennis
Of noble mien was he,
"Lo, I will stand at thy right hand
And guard the house with thee!"

In the same number is the following editorial which indicates pleasant Abbot-Bradford relations:

"In this connection we cannot do better than notice the *Abbot Courant* a copy of which recently came to us through the kindness of a friend. It is published by the young ladies of Abbot Academy, Andover, and reflects much credit on both managers and contributors for the arrangements of its racy and promising articles.

"We take the liberty of congratulating them on their success, and also of extending our earnest sympathies to the unknown editresses. 'A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.'"

The *Abbot Courant* had just been started in June, 1873, and has been regularly published ever since.

The *Glimmer* of April, 1874, contains a fresh treatment of a perennial subject:

WEATHER PROBABILITIES OF BRADFORD ACADEMY

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1874.

6 o'clock A.M.	First Bell	Doubtful and hazy
	Second Bell	Rising Barometer
	Third Bell	Rapid Descent. Movement of clouds of the lower strata toward the earth, followed by light winds, ascending in the space of half an hour.
8-9	Calm.	
9	General gathering of the clouds; somewhat lowering. Steady current toward the north and south.	

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- 9-12 Agitation. Generally foul about the harbor; luminous toward the Hudson.
- 12.30 Brightening prospects, followed by stirring gusts, somewhat variable, with an occasional dead calm through the lower atmosphere.
- 2 P.M. Regathering of the clouds which break away at 3.30 with a breezy commotion. High winds outwards through doors and corridors, accompanied with specific airiness. Weather will continue uncertain till
- 7.30 when a calm will prevail for an hour. Then look out for whirlwinds, hurricanes, and squalls which will die away in the Land of Nod. No indication of change of weather till morning.

The "editresses" of this number were Mary H. Lyman and Mary E. Bliss. The latter was a sister of Laura Bliss Miner, Harriet Bliss, '72, and Frances Bliss Huntington, '74. Mary Bliss (Mrs. Thomas Marshall) lived many years in Rome where her husband collected art for museums. Very rare laces collected by Mrs. Marshall were sold during the late war for the support of a hospital in Lewis, England.

Until the west wing was added in 1884 the only recitation rooms were the five on the second floor. In the largest of these had been placed certain ladders and ropes—"grape-vines" the girls called them—for gymnastic apparatus, but since the room was constantly needed for a classroom the weekly gymnastics took place, if at all, in the school hall, where also there was some dancing of the lancers and quadrilles of the day. Next door to the "grape-vine" room was the only laboratory, rather meagerly supplied with apparatus. The teaching of science had advanced from "Conversations on Chemistry," etc., but had not passed the time when one instructor with slight technical training was asked to teach all the physical and biological sciences. The instructor at Bradford at this time was so afraid of the forces she worked with that she would not allow the girls to perform any of the experiments

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themselves. "Something might happen!" What happened was that the inadequate courses were supplemented by lectures given by men of national reputation.

Such a man was Prof. Edward S. Morse of Salem, the zoölogist, who had helped to start the Peabody Museum of Science of which he became curator. The girls were fascinated by his talks and his dexterity at illustration. With a crayon in each hand, after the manner of Agassiz, he swiftly drew on the blackboard the insect or bivalve he was explaining.

Mrs. Alice Bartlett Stimson ('74), speaking at the Centennial dinner in June, 1903, of the vagaries of one's academic memories, said:

"From Professor Morse's field days we carried away one very valuable lesson, which was the negative one of not being afraid of snakes. But the learned disquisitions which followed the gathering of those specimens have all gone somewhere, leaving the sole remembrance of one absurdly dressed salamander in a calico gown and gorgeous cap which, when he took up his glass one afternoon, was reposing there ready for his lecture."

Biology has made such strides since Professor Morse's investigations of brachiopods, that he is probably better known today for his important collection of Japanese pottery now in the possession of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts than for the zoölogical researches which had won the approval of Darwin. Other scientists from Salem and Cambridge also came to Bradford to contribute to the subjects of chemistry, geology, anatomy, and physiology.

Haverhill, too, had its scientist. Dr. James R. Nichols, physician and manufacturing chemist, was on the Board of Visitors at Bradford from 1864 to 1869, and a trustee for many years following. On the most beautiful spot in the vicin-

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ity of Haverhill, now Winnikenni Park, Dr. Nichols built a small stone castle overlooking the lake. Here he spent his summers while carrying on agricultural experiments on his farm which he called Lakeside. Thither came visitors from far and near. At intervals he invited the Bradford girls to the castle, presumably to observe the application of his scientific theories. Long after all these were forgotten they remembered the beauty of the day by the lake, and Dr. Nichols' unique hospitality, and how on their return they could look from the front windows of the Academy over to the castle silhouetted on the skyline.

Other Haverhill men were glad to share an interesting event with Bradford girls. It was in 1877 that Mr. Thomas Saunders, a friend of Alexander Graham Bell, invited Miss Annie Johnson to bring some girls to Birchbrow, his home on the hill overlooking Lake Saltonstall, to hear the telephone he had installed between his office and his home. To hear talking and the sound of a fishhorn transmitted over a distance of a mile and a half was then a more thrilling experience than to hear the first radio broadcasting during the last decade.

Bible study, as a matter of course, was required of every student, and since Sunday was obviously the day to prepare for them, the recitations came Monday morning. Miss Hasseltine's excellent plan of memorizing Scripture was still used, a plan which Miss Johnson adopted for the weekly exercise for the whole school when every girl must answer at the roll call with a passage of sacred poetry. The girl who once too many times repeated:

Bury your sorrow,
Hide it from sight,
Tell it to Jesus,
And all will be right.

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received a look from Miss Johnson which showed that the latter's memory was more reliable than the student's. Another feature of general import was the spelling test. Fifty words were given out at the beginning of the term. If a girl missed ten of these she stayed in the class two weeks. Miss Johnson also trained the whole school to recite together the Psalm with which the Anniversary exercises were always opened.

The fine arts had their place in the Bradford curriculum, but in that day they were called "ornamental branches": music, drawing, fine needle work, painting, and in the seventies — wax flowers. This was the period of hair ornaments also. More than one class emblem—in one case a cross—was made of woven hair, and engraved on the gold tip were Miss Johnson's initials, A. H. J. Hair crosses, class rings, parting hymns and class albums—*De Gustibus*——! And of dress-making likewise, for the hoop had by 1873 shrunk in front and lengthened behind into a cataract of furbelow.

Our friend the reporter from the *Gazette* fell into a transport on the Anniversary Day in June, 1873.

"At ten o'clock Professor Downs struck the chords and the lengthening file of fair ones in the present multitudinous, longitudinal and altitudinous style of dress encircled the crowded seats and blossomed out into one grand assemblage of bewildering whiteness."

And when a fair one stepped upon the platform to discourse on the TOPIC, "Travel as a Means of Culture," to read an essay, to take part in the French dialogue, and finally to receive her diploma, she must not for a moment turn her back upon trustees or faculty but must retreat backwards to her seat manoeuvring her long train as best she could.

Miss Johnson's attention to details of behavior was not out of harmony with her policy of trust in the girls. There were

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teachers who played policeman and watchdog, and when girls could not provide employment for such, their boy friends generally could do so, but Miss Johnson preferred the more friendly method. The Class of '75 loves to remember that in a brief absence she left the school in their charge. On some fine winter nights she allowed them to coast with some boys down Main Street as long as the snow held out. When it melted, she asked, "Will you care to go out tonight in the wet?" "Oh, Miss Johnson, it is freezing again!" "Yes?" was her only answer.

In this, Miss Johnson's last year, the school numbered one hundred and sixty-eight, of whom only sixteen per cent were day pupils in contrast to the fifty per cent of ten years previous. With eight resident teachers and as many more non-resident, no secretarial staff or social helper, it is not surprising that she asked the trustees for an increase in salary. She also asked for certain additions to the building and a retaining wall for the front of the grounds, improvements which the prosperity of the school seemed to warrant. They had granted her in 1871 a leave of absence of several months, and she felt that they valued her services. The trustees could not see the situation as she did, especially as to salary. It should be remembered at this point that scarcely a board of public education or of a private school thought of teachers' salaries at that time in other terms than the minimum for which instructors could be secured. They were so intent on keeping the tuition fees down that they did not see that it was the teachers who suffered. Perhaps they had caught the idea from Mary Lyon who expected to find teachers who would teach for the love of the cause and the smallest pittance to live on. Thirty years later Dr. Cogswell told a young teacher who had frankly stated to him that she had to find a summer job in order to

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live through the year, "Ah, but the *honor* of teaching in Bradford Academy should be enough."

So it is no wonder that Miss Johnson sent in her resignation. She was doubtless encouraged to do so by her brother George who wished her to travel and take a needed rest and change. The trustees accepted her resignation without knowing just where they were to find a successor, and Miss Johnson formed her plans for a private school in Boston. In these new surroundings she found the change she needed and her excellent school prospered as it deserved. This she kept till 1892 when she turned it over to Miss Frances Emerson, as has been said, and retired to her home at Phillips Beach, Swampscott. With much travel, including a journey around the world with her brother, she filled out a happy and useful life. At the Bradford Centennial, 1903, she was persuaded by her old pupils to return for the reunion. On that day she was the guest of Mary George (Mrs. Luther Johnson) with another classmate, Mrs. Betsey Kendall; she held a reception at the Academy in the afternoon and dined with members of the Class of '62 at Mrs. Mary Appleton Wood's. On the front steps she sat in the midst of her old friends while a photographer made a permanent record of that memorable day. The brown hair was almost white, but the composure had not changed. Miss Johnson died at her home in Phillips Beach, October 1, 1908. The portrait which hangs in the Academy Hall was presented to the school by a devoted friend, Miss Mary Ordway, of the Class of '66, at the meeting of the Alumnae Association, October 30, 1909. On that occasion Mrs. Mary Barstow Ward, Mrs. Fanny Brownell Stevens, and Mrs. Mary Richardson Berry spoke most fittingly of Miss Johnson's rich life, and the profound impression she had left on her students.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PRINCIPALSHIP OF ANNIE E. JOHNSON

1875-1894

BEFORE going on with the Bradford story from the summer of 1875 when Miss Abby Johnson laid down her heavy burden, it is interesting to consider, first, where the trustees might look for her successor, and secondly, what preparation the future principal had unknowingly made for her task.

The first requirement today would, of course, be a college degree. If the trustees considered that requisite, the field was indeed limited; Smith and Wellesley were about to open their doors in September; Vassar, which had graduated its first class of four girls in 1869, had now sent out about two hundred, among whom were Florence Cushing of '74, who was later to serve both her college and Bradford as trustee, and Lucia Connor, '75, the first Bradford girl to graduate from college. Fine as was the product, there had not been time for the necessary experience. The Universities of Michigan and Illinois began to admit women in 1870. Alice Freeman, who was in one of those early groups, received her degree at Ann Arbor in 1876. Wellesley's first president, Miss Ada Howard, was not a college graduate, and the same was almost necessarily true of a majority of its faculty. It was still too early for the heads of academies and seminaries for girls to have earned degrees. The principal of Mount Holyoke was Miss Julia E. Ward, one of its own graduates; that of Wheaton Seminary was Miss Caroline C. Metcalf. Neither she nor Miss Haskell who succeeded her in 1876 was a graduate of college. At Abbot Academy Miss Philena McKeen, formerly a teacher in the

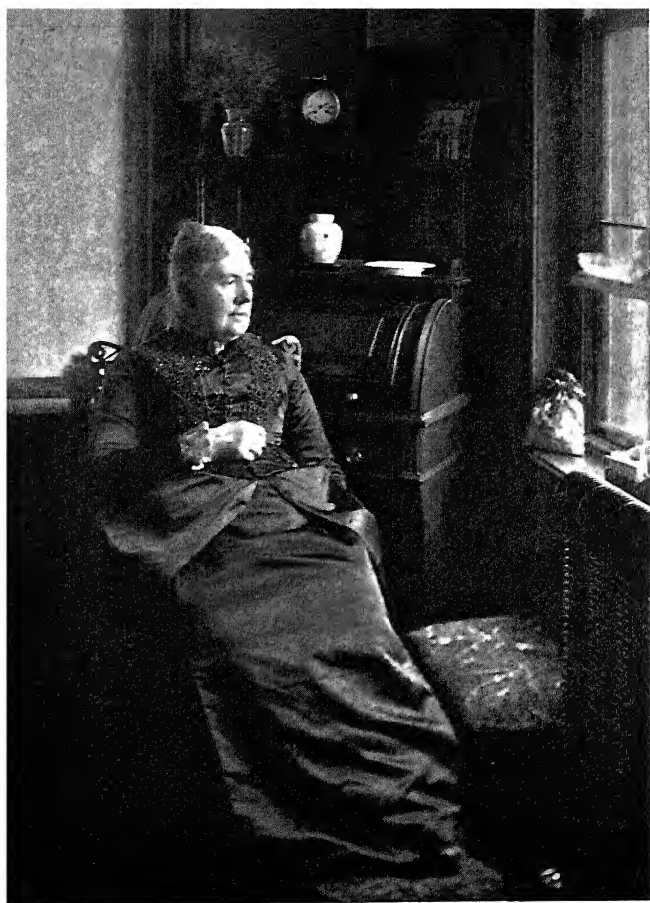
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Western Female Seminary in Oxford, Ohio, had now been principal since 1859 and was to continue till 1892.

There remained the State Normal schools of which there were now six in Massachusetts and as many more in the other New England states. Some of the older ones might have had graduates with enough teaching experience to make them eligible, but that was doubtful. It was finally the head of a normal school whom the trustees decided upon, not because she had graduated from seminary, normal school, or college but because she had developed by her own efforts the necessary qualifications. Once more the story of preparation for a life work is one of self-education, determined by intelligence of a high order and Puritan idealism.

In the Congregational parsonage of the little town of Alna, near Wiscasset, Me., Annie Elizabeth Johnson was born January 21, 1826, the oldest daughter of Rev. Samuel and Hannah Whittier Johnson. Her father, who had been pastor of a church in Saco, was, at the time of his death in 1836, secretary of the Maine Missionary Society. Mrs. Johnson was closely related to the poet Whittier, a connection which made possible a friendship between the daughter and the shyest of all shy poets.

At the age of ten, when her father died, Annie wrote to her mother, "I will study hard and help you to take care of the children." At fourteen, having acquired more than other children at that age, she began to teach in Hallowell for a dollar and a half a week and "boarded around" in the families of her scholars. Incredible as it seemed to her later students, she used to say, "I never would have taught if I had not been obliged to, but I have had a good time doing it." She did not say what she would have done if she could — travel, scientific research, missions, preaching?



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Fortunately the family, now largely dependent upon Annie for support, settled in Brunswick. Bowdoin College with its two hundred students was the soul of the town, and in the college were President Leonard Wood, Alpheus Packard, Professor of the classics, and Professor Thomas Upham, whose textbooks on metaphysics and ethics were studied in all the colleges and academies. Professor William Smyth, father of Egbert and Newman, later of Andover and New Haven respectively, was chief sponsor for the education of the ambitious girl, whose intellectual thirst increased as new sources for quenching it were discovered. She taught in every grade of the Brunswick public schools and was finally principal of the high school, but not till after she had gained experience in other Maine schools and had gone as far as Virginia as a governess. Gifted with a phenomenal memory like Macaulay's and Gladstone's, her mind retained for ready reference whatever poetry, prose, scientific data, philosophic theory, places, people, she had once learned. Her habits of constant reading and study were formed early, and their direction was determined for a time by the course of study which her brother Samuel completed in Bowdoin in 1842. In fact when she was considering a position in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and the question, "What college did you attend?" had to be answered, Professor Smyth advised her to say Bowdoin. With her brother she studied much Greek, Latin, and French, Newman's *Rhetoric*, Paley's *Evidences*, Upham's *Intellectual Philosophy*, Butler's *Analogy*, with as much science as circumstances would allow, for she excelled in experimental work. Mathematics she acquired at intervals. Professor Smyth offered to help her when she found she must teach trigonometry which she had never studied. Any old Bradford girl who remembers how Miss Johnson taught a geometry or algebra class when

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the teacher was sick can imagine that if that first trigonometry class suffered from ignorance it was not the teacher's.

Thus she was always training herself for the next harder position. She was thirty-five years of age with twenty years of experience behind her, when the call came to teach in the Framingham Normal School. This, the oldest state normal school in the country, had, after a stay in Lexington and in West Newton, finally located on the hilltop of Framingham Center where its development was both literally and figuratively uphill. The new teacher must have loved that wind-swept eminence, so like her own rocky Maine, for it commanded a view of all the surrounding country. Perhaps she succeeded in warming her classroom with the fires of her own enthusiasm, but the official visitors of the Board of Education reported regularly that they had to wear their overcoats in the classrooms at Framingham. The visitors also reported to a stony-hearted legislature that the practice of "paying females half the salary paid to males for the same work" was the cause of the resignation of many of their best assistants.

In 1866, during the absence of Mr. George N. Bigelow, who had been principal since 1855, Miss Johnson was put in charge of the academic management of the school and Miss Nancy Judson Bigelow of the correspondence and business details. The watchful visitors noted the efficiency of the management and the harmony in the school. When, therefore, ill health forced Mr. Bigelow to resign, the Board of Education with an almost unanimous vote appointed Miss Johnson. For their unprecedented choice of a woman as the head of a normal school the Board felt that they owed an explanation to the public, so they made the occasion of her inaugural one of considerable importance. The Governor of Massachusetts, in the opening speech of the ceremony, said, "The induction of Miss

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Johnson today is perhaps the first official and conspicuous announcement of a policy which appears to be founded on philosophical reason and on the results of experience."

Thus spoke Governor Bullock, known for his championship of equal opportunities for women and men. A few years later he offered a large scholarship to Amherst College on condition that it should be granted to a woman on the basis of fitness shown by entrance examinations. At Framingham the students had always been women, so a woman principal did not seem a very dangerous precedent, but in 1866 the question really was, "How could a woman be as well prepared as a man?" Certainly women were cheaper. In that year, while all the other normal school principals were receiving \$2,500, Miss Johnson had \$1,500, but later her salary was \$2,500 as against the men's \$3,000.

When Miss Johnson took up her administrative duties she found the hundred or more girls, most of whom boarded about the village, suffering from all work and no play. She cut the stated hours of work to seven and three-quarters and alternated them so far as possible with exercise, and she begged the Board for space for outdoor recreation.

Her next improvement was to reinstate the practice school, omitted of late for lack of room, but she could get no adequate quarters for it for four years. The number of students increased fifty per cent, but yet no boarding house. In 1870 the state granted \$20,000 for a dormitory to accommodate forty students and teachers. When the house was ready the cellar filled with water so that the gas and steam heat could not be used. As soon as this dried, the water supply gave out; until the last year of Miss Johnson's stay they were unable to use the bathing and laundry facilities, and all the water had to be carted up the hill.

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While emphasizing such practical matters in her reports to the Board of Education Miss Johnson never dwelt upon them with her students. She loved teaching and managed to do an inordinate amount along with her administrative duties. One of her students at Framingham writes of the psychology class:

"Too ready assent to an innocent appearing question often left one wriggling upon the hook of an unexpected conclusion. . . . When the time of graduation arrived, the girls submitted specimens to be considered for the class poem. Miss Johnson consigned them all to the waste-basket, saying that we would be grateful to her some day for not permitting anything of such trifling value to go on our record."

After the state had given some physical apparatus she invited pupils from the high and grammar schools to observe experiments in chemistry and to use the models in the art room. She was particularly interested in able girls who would have to leave school for lack of funds, so she announced that a "friend" had given eighteen hundred dollars to be loaned to students.

One of the friends Miss Johnson made in Framingham was Mrs. Caroline Whittier Train, the wife of the Baptist minister. Mrs. Train was a Bradford graduate of 1846, and had taught both in the Academy and in the Haverhill High School. From her Miss Johnson must have learned something about Bradford Academy, and after Mr. Train was called to the Baptist Church of Haverhill, he and his wife very probably told some of the Academy trustees about her. Again, it may have been Abner J. Phipps, Ph.D., Agent of the Board of Education and a frequent visitor at Framingham, also a member of the Bradford Board of Visitors, who suggested Miss Johnson's name. Whatever the source of the recommendation, Dr. Cogswell, now vice president and treasurer of the Board,

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went to see Miss Johnson in Keersarge Village, N. H., where she was taking a vacation. So sure were the trustees that they had the right woman they offered her more than her Framingham salary — more than Miss Abby Johnson had asked. No one who knew Miss Johnson could think that it was merely the larger salary that brought her to Bradford. Here she would find greater freedom for carrying out her ideas of education, freedom to impart her own Christian ideals. She would have the support of such men as Dr. Rufus Anderson, Samuel D. Warren and Dr. James Means. She also knew that her friend and colleague, Miss Ellen Hyde, was abundantly able to carry on the work of the Normal School, and she felt free to make the change.

In the library at Framingham hang three portraits, that of the first principal, Cyrus Peirce; his wife, Sarah Coffin Peirce; and Miss Annie Johnson. The severely simple dress, the parted hair, the rugged strength of feature and the direct gaze are all characteristic. Always a large woman, at forty-nine her figure was less ample than in later Bradford days. One misses that sign of a latent smile, so familiar to those who knew her well, but sitting for a portrait must have been serious business for her.

Just before Miss Johnson came to Bradford Dr. Anderson resigned the presidency of the trustees. For twelve years he had led them in their policy of expansion. His desire to see the Academy established on a modern educational and financial basis had been realized, yet he saw much more to be done. He and his wife, a woman of rare education, could visualize what the twelve acres of oak woodland adjacent to the original lot would mean to the future happiness of the school. He therefore urged the Board to buy the land even if it meant curtailing other expenditures. Hundreds of students and teachers

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have reason to bless Dr. Anderson for this priceless addition to the Bradford heritage.

At the age of seventy-eight he felt that his place should be taken by a younger man. In his letter of resignation dated June 16, 1874, he said:

"In the past eight years I have gone through the labor of preparing five volumes for the press. . . . I am tired, gentlemen, and I ask your consent to my retiring from the presidency, and also from my connection from the Board where I ought to make room for a new member."

The five volumes¹ written after he was seventy constitute an exhaustive study of the missions of the American Board, originally planned as lectures at Andover and other theological seminaries. In addition to their obvious value as missionary history these books offer a vast amount of information gained by personal investigation of social conditions in Hawaii, the Near East, and the Orient, during the first half of the nineteenth century.

When Bradford girls today gaze at the fine portrait of Dr. Anderson which looks down with clear-eyed and benign interest on their varied activities, they may like to remember an instance of his friendly attitude toward the "younger generation." In the early seventies it was rumored by the ever-present critic of the dangerous tendencies of the young that dancing, *real* dancing—round dances—actually went on among the girls in the back of the hall during the interval between evening devotions and study hour. So great was the agitation about this fall from grace that Dr. Anderson volunteered an investigation. So one evening he stood at one side while a few

¹ *The Hawaiian Islands*, 1864; *Sandwich Islands*, 2 vols., 1870; *History of the Missions of the American Board (A. B. C. F. M.)*, 1874; *Foreign Missions, their Relations and Claims*, 1869; *Missions of the American Board: Oriental Countries*, 2 vols., 1872.

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girls waltzed together ; one can see the friendly smile on those lips as he remarked that he saw no harm at all in that diversion.

Dr. Anderson remained a trustee *emeritus* till his death at the age of eighty-four. By rigid economy a reserve fund bearing his name was accumulated in the following years, and a guest room was also intended to commemorate his own hospitality. The latter is now used for other purposes, but so long as that beautiful portrait hangs on the chapel wall Dr. Anderson will not be forgotten. It is especially fitting that his granddaughter, Kate Anderson Ellsworth, should now be doing faithful service on the Board of Trustees of her Alma Mater.

Rev. James H. Means, D.D., minister of the Second Church of Dorchester, who had served on the Board of Visitors, was chosen president of the trustees. He was a scholarly man, much beloved throughout his long pastorate in Dorchester, where his duties were so onerous that he had little time to devote to Bradford in ways other than official. Two funds of one thousand dollars each, one for the library and the other for a scholarship, came to Bradford as bequests from Dr. Means after his death in 1894.

When Annie Johnson came to Bradford in the late summer of 1875 she found the Academy building standing in uncompromising simplicity in an ungraded pasture about five hundred feet from the unpaved street. The woodlot, also in a state of nature, adjoined at the south. Inside, the high, cloister-like corridors were as yet untinted ; the walls of all the public rooms were also in pristine plaster. A few lithographs of classical ruins and "chromos" of the Mid-Victorian style hung in the parlors and dining room. A sunset scene in the dining room was usually pointed out to new girls as having been called by

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Miss Magrath "the broken egg scene." The furniture was at least useful.

The assembly hall on the third floor was a typical school-room of large dimensions. The floor space was nearly filled with double desks for a hundred and fifty students. On the platform a grand piano, a movable blackboard, and a map of Palestine made a somewhat cubistic background for the teachers who sat behind plain desks on each side of Miss Johnson's. On the front wall the round clock, "presented by the ladies of 1845," which had done service in the old Academy, and three small photographs relieved the blank plaster but little. The girls felt the lack of decoration so keenly that for the Anniversary exercises they festooned the walls with green and worked the class motto on a cloth background framed with green. This they hung over the clock. In 1878 for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the school the dates 1803-1878 were similarly celebrated. The only portrait in the hall was that of Mr. Greenleaf. In March, 1884, the portraits of Dr. Anderson, Harriet Newell, and Nancy Judson were presented and hung on the front wall. That of Dr. Anderson was the gift of Mr. Elbridge Wood and Mr. John Hobson of Haverhill; of Harriet Newell by Mrs. Mary Ames in behalf of the Center Church; and of Nancy Judson by the student body of 1883. Appropriate biographical addresses were made by Dr. Seeley, Dr. Crowell, and Rev. E. G. Porter.

To complete the picture of the hall in its first years we must see it flooded, first by the morning, then by the afternoon sun — the wings of the building having not yet been added — while in the evening the low hanging gas fixtures dimly prophesied the electric lighting of today. Sometimes the gas was cut off in the middle of a dull study hour by the opening of the Haverhill drawbridge, even as in later days broken elec-



REV. RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D.

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tric wires have made a hiatus in a weary evening of geometry and Cicero.

Miss Johnson found her rather bleak environment not at all discouraging. She had met much more difficult situations with courage, common sense, and decision. Having played the man of the family and in several instances done what was then considered a man's job, it is easy to see why her students often found her abrupt in manner. Years afterward she said to a friend, apropos of a lecturer at Bradford:

"I like to bring to the girls women who have those social graces which I admire and which I lack. It is a case of manners; mine are brusque. I want the girls to meet women whom they can admire for their outward appearance and manners as well as for their worth."

Perhaps Miss Johnson did not realize how her own insight and sense of humor, which so easily pricked the bubble of conceit and pierced a flimsy excuse, sometimes terrified a poor innocent whose tongue, instead of offering a reasonable explanation, only clove to the roof of her mouth. Her own personal needs were of the simplest; if she found that her single sitting room² and small bedroom were insufficient for office work as well as for what little private life she was allowed, she never intimated as much. Here she held faculty meetings, looked after her "corridor girls," carried on the correspondence of the school without a secretary, performed the thousand duties of her office, and managed to appear at leisure with a piece of sewing in her hands when one dropped in of an evening.

The work to be done on the grounds interested her intensely, and when she learned that Mr. Warren was to give a variety of trees and shrubs like those with which he was then

² Room 206.

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adorning his estate of Cedar Hill, Waltham, she was particularly delighted, because she was a practical botanist herself and had studied trees extensively. The landscape gardening work was directed by Joseph H. Curtis of Boston. He set out about three hundred trees including the spruces which the girls have persistently called "Senior Pines," two fine groups of English hawthorne, tulip trees, the Japanese gingko, and many others quite rare in New England in the seventies. The fountain which, much to the girls' amusement, had existed only in catalogue pictures, now materialized, though its slender stream of water was reserved for great days. Rebuilt in 1922 by the Class of 1912 in memory of a beloved teacher, Caroline Sperry Allen, it has remained a feature of the front lawn in spite of the protests of modernists who regret that Bradford is hopelessly old-fashioned. The graded lawn was faced with granite, and at the two entrances Mr. Warren placed posts identical with those at Cedar Hill. Gradually the walks were cut in the grove. In 1872 the western half of "Lake Tupelo" appeared, being then called the Skating Rink. Did Miss Johnson discover the Tupelo trees by the water's edge and give their name to that diminutive lake? Perhaps she had seen Tupelo Point on Lake Waban at Wellesley. The water for this tiny pond was pumped from the Merrimac, a pumping station being placed at the foot of Prospect Street. The water supply for drinking and domestic purposes was drawn from a well near the kitchen entrance of the building. Frequently analyzed and pronounced "pure," this water was forced by steam pumps into tanks on the fourth floor for distribution over the house, and was the only supply till the town of Bradford adopted public water works in 1895. Somebody remembers that for a time the labor of a supplementary force pump was performed by a huge dog which worked by day and

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howled by night. This reminiscence is verified by a circular of 1869 which mentions "another force pump which is worked by Newfoundland dogs, trained for that purpose, and who seem to take pleasure in treading the revolving wheel, till overcome by weariness."

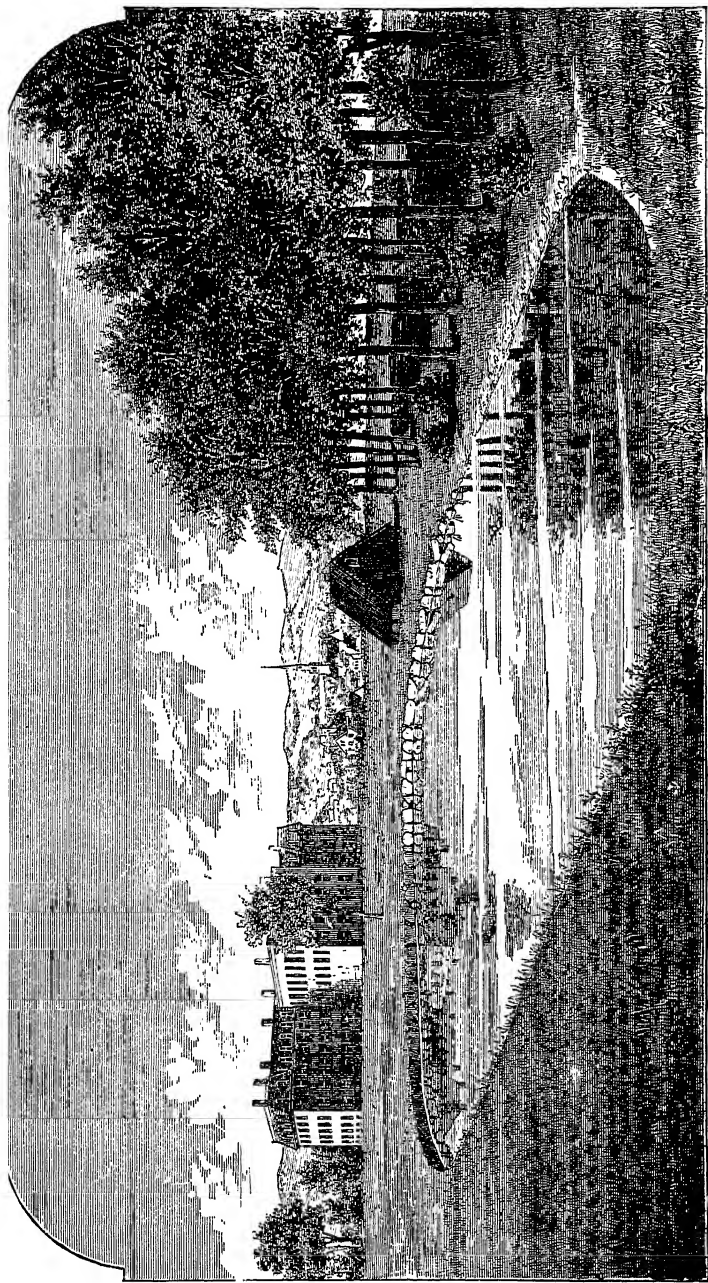
Another feature which now seems medieval for campus life was the vegetable garden where the tennis courts and playgrounds are now. After the garden had proved impracticable Dr. Cogswell planted there about sixty chestnut trees, saying that he hoped some day the girls would have all the nuts they wanted. That time came and lasted about twenty-five years, but passed when the chestnut blight destroyed every tree. Another feature of the old back campus, near the edge of Tupelo was a very real and often vocal pig, to whose needs the lazy, good-natured Dennis attended. The only other duty which Dennis was known to have performed except trunk lifting was carrying the mail bag three times daily to and from the post office. The vegetable garden, the grounds, and building were in charge of Mr. Edwin G. Elliot who lived with his family in a front suite of rooms on the first floor. Mr. Elliot's mother had been housekeeper at the boarding house and continued in that capacity in the new building.

From the pig and the potato patch to facts academic was but a step in those days, although the annual catalogue said nothing about the former, and much about the latter. Miss Johnson found in the fall of 1875 a school numbering one hundred and fifteen girls (a decrease of fifty from the previous year), seven resident teachers, only two of whom were new, and two non-resident teachers of music and art, Mr. Downs and Miss Carpenter. Early in the year, the new principal gave a series of examinations from which no one was exempt, in order to re-classify the students. She then listed the

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“preparatory” and “unclassified” in addition to the four regular classes. This meant a general raising of standards and a greater clarity of purpose on the part of the students.

The curriculum was a serious matter, especially to the small minority of girls who reached their own Anniversary Day and achieved a diploma. The eight members of '78 made it the subject of their TOPIC, an exposition replete with quotations and authorities, upon every study in the four years' course from algebra to ethics. These young advocates must have surprised even the trustees; they certainly pleased Miss Johnson who made it clear to the audience that the learned discourse was wholly their own work, and the *Gazette* was so impressed that it published the discussion in full. Not many of the “unclassified” or “specials” were converted by this or similar arguments, and their number increased; nevertheless, no modification was made in the curriculum to meet the needs and special aptitudes of these girls. They must conform to the requirements in Latin, science, mathematics, logic, and the difficult metaphysics and theology of the senior year, or forego the diploma. The only electives were modern languages and music. Here Miss Johnson was not free to act. The trustees felt entirely competent to set the curriculum, hire teachers, and even choose the textbooks. They had raised the standard, made Latin obligatory and increased the number of courses in 1870; such changes ought to be good for at least twenty years! In fact the catalogue for fifteen years affirmed that the course of study had been “recently” enlarged. On the other hand it should be remembered that the diploma meant less to a girl in the seventies and eighties than now. It led to no vocation except teaching, and even for that, the thoughtful girl was very apt to content herself with the subjects which she believed most desirable. She therefore stayed two or three



SKATING RINK, 1872

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years and left with no regrets at not having encountered Butler's *Analogy*, though she had to hear the seniors scoffing at the "giddy, giddy specials." In this way it came about that a surprisingly large number of the most loyal Bradford students in the last quarter of the nineteenth century are now in the non-graduate group. A few figures typical of the nineteen years of Miss Johnson's administration will show this:

YEAR	SENIORS	JUNIORS	SOPHOMORES	FRESHMEN	PREPS.	SPECIALS	TOTAL
1878	18	13	9	20	16	43	109
1890	27	21	15	7	19	82	171
Av. of 19 yrs. }	15	17	14	15	21	64	145

The most marked feature of the "special" group other than its size was that the majority were of about the age to enter high schools, had they not preferred the private school. If they entered the preparatory year they took practically the work of the first year in high school and presumably would take the five years' course which would carry them considerably further on their academic way than four years of high school. Only a small fraction of them went through with it for reasons which have been stated. Not till Miss Ida C. Allen, who became assistant principal in 1887, took up some of the administrative duties did the senior classes become noticeably larger by the granting of credit for substituted courses and other adjustments. This more liberal policy reached its logical result when Miss Knott fitted a definite two years' course to the needs of high school graduates in 1902.

It is one of the common fallacies of memory to believe that the teachers of our girlhood were older and stayed longer in school than at the present time. To the Bradford girls of the seventies and eighties it seemed that Miss Johnson, Miss Magrath and Miss Pinkerton had always been at Bradford, just

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as Victoria had always been Queen of England. As a matter of fact the "turnover" of that period was not quite so rapid as in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and not nearly as frequent as now. Of the thirty-seven teachers who were in Bradford during Miss Johnson's nineteen years the average stay was 6.43 years, while that of the fifty-one who were with Miss Knott (1902-1918) was 5.5 years. To discriminate among the thirty-seven is hardly fair except on the ground of length of service. For this reason, as well as for the universal affection felt for her, Miss Pinkerton again claims our attention. Her return in 1876 was a godsend to Miss Johnson, for they became friends by reason of their differences as well as for their common interests. Miss Pinkerton in her sketch of Miss Johnson (1894) says:

"In one memorable instance of school discipline I suppose one girl thought Miss Johnson severity incarnate . . . She did not hear her say, 'I have been justice; now you go and be mercy; I *can't* leave her feeling so.'"

No one can doubt that it was Miss Pinkerton herself who impersonated mercy. The girls' feeling for her was not so much wonder "that one small head could carry all she knew"—that was taken for granted—but that one human heart could carry all the troubles, little and big, poured into it by scores of girls in need of sympathy and advice. Their grief when Miss Pinkerton left in the summer of 1887 was lasting, not only for their own loss but because of a general feeling that she had not received either the salary or the consideration at the hands of the trustees which they thought she deserved. During the following years Miss Pinkerton gave some lectures in schools and private homes. She died at her home in Derry, N. H., in 1896.

Another of those whose length of service was no less notable

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than its quality was Miss Jennie E. Ireson. Miss Johnson heard of her through Miss Hyde of Framingham, for Miss Ireson began to teach "Reading" in the Normal School in 1877. The students of each of the schools where she simultaneously taught, thought that they were the favorite girls to whom she was devoting her boundless energy. From 1879 to 1901 she taught at Bradford. Arriving on Monday evening in time for supper, she gave the whole evening to floor gymnastics, meeting the girls in two large groups. These maidenly exercises in long full skirts and blouses were not likely to produce heart strain or shock the modesty of the observer by a display of ankles. Valuable or harmless as these "calisthenics" may have been, contact with a woman of abounding health, perfect posture, and great personal charm was worth more than a theoretical course in hygiene. Better than the evening's gymnasium work were the classes on Tuesday, misnamed "Elocution." Few teachers had the gift of guiding girls in the reading of Shakespeare as did Miss Ireson. Her method forced the girls to think out the interpretation, for she never gave them a chance merely to imitate her own voice and manner. A gale of laughter was her comment on the reading of "Et tu, Brute," with a *French* pronunciation, but somehow the dreamy girl was made to laugh, too, at her own sleepiness.

To Dana Hall, Framingham Normal School, the Newton public schools, and to Bradford, all in the same week, every school week of the year, Miss Ireson brought the same zest and the same breath of the big world beyond the campus. Nearly every summer she took her mother to a new corner of Europe, and even to Japan, and the next fall there would be stories of strange travelling companions and a fresh point of view. If the schools could have had their way, she would have kept her positions even longer than she did, but she had earned

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some leisure. Some of her last winters were spent at the Women's Republican Club in Boston, and in the Republican parade just before the election of Coolidge in 1924 Miss Ireson marched near the head of the long line. Her sudden death in January, 1929, was a shock to her friends.

The opening of school on September 6, 1881, was, in the minds of the new girls, an ominous one. It was the mysterious Yellow Day when the air had a saffron hue which made people look green and white; a symbol, some said, of the nationwide dread of news from the deathbed of President Garfield. This was not an auspicious atmosphere for the girls who must take entrance examinations. Having survived both the lurid air and algebra and Latin tests, the scared freshman slept soundly in the double bed with her strange roommate, to be awakened at six-fifteen by the first of forty strokes from a terrific gong which Edgar Allan Poe should have added to "the clamor and the clangor of the bells." Breakfast was at seven so that, according to Miss Johnson's ruling, everybody should walk to the grove before recitations began.

One's arrival as a freshman was bound to seem momentous—to the freshman—even under ordinary conditions. Not many had an experience like this in September, 1882.

"A hurried exit at the Haverhill station of a bewildered mother and daughter and no 'hack'! Small boy offers kindly to assist with valise and bags, declaring that Bradford Academy is only a short walk distant. 'Follow me,' and we followed, to our dismay, to the railroad bridge where the youngster and his pal began to pick their way with long strides from tie to tie on the track. 'Is there no other bridge?' 'Yes, Ma'am, but it's a mile further down. Most folks use this—it's all right.' To our infinite relief we emerged in Bradford on our feet instead of in a dragnet.

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“At last we were on the curving walk to the entrance, and then in Miss Johnson’s parlor, where she was giving reassurances to parents and a feeling of protection and strength to the girls. Looking from the window while waiting we saw two black ponies, a portly gentleman and two girls dressed alike in peacock blue frocks. They dismounted from their carriage and threw their arms around the necks of their ponies in a fond farewell — then it was our turn to meet Miss Johnson.”

More frightful than the Yellow Day was the night of February 17, 1882, that of the great Haverhill fire, which for twenty-four hours swept the river front and threatened the whole city. Embers blew even to the Academy roof. It happened to be the night when the juniors were giving the seniors a banquet, with no teachers in attendance, one of the occasions for which Tanner was the caterer, whose forbidden ice cream parlor was the meeting place of many an escaping group. The most exciting feature of the banquet was the smuggling of goodies to envious and hungry roommates who on that night were also fortunate enough to see the great fire.

It was customary for the seniors to reciprocate the banquet by giving the juniors a picnic in the spring at Johnson’s Pond or in North Andover. Miss Johnson was always one of the party and added to the good time in every way, except that she could not join in the songs. She used to say, “I know that when I get to heaven I shall be able to sing.” Earlier in the spring the seniors had their class dinner by themselves — another red-letter night — when one might stay up till morning. One tried to ignore the disillusion of finding that after three or four years of anticipation, classmates looked and talked like their everyday selves! “Running around the table” had not yet become the confessional for the engaged.

For those who could not achieve these legitimate feasts a

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midnight spread had all the allurements of forbidden fruit and the added spice of outwitting teachers. It might be only crackers, pickled limes, and candy from the brick store of B. G. Perry, "W. I. Goods and Groceries," or it might be chicken and all the "fixings" smuggled in by a friend from home. Sometimes retribution was only indigestion and sometimes Miss Johnson's remark, "How often have I told you that your stomachs *must* have a rest!"

More exciting than such functions were the nights when one would be aroused by male voices singing a serenade under the windows. If it would only turn out to be Andover boys and not mere local talent! No lights must be seen, no finger must touch a window blind! One was supposed to listen in maidenly modesty in bed and not sit shivering at the casement. But what could be expected of readers of Tennyson's "Maud"?

For a breeze of morning moves
And the planet of Love is on high,
Beginning to faint in the light that she loves,
To faint in his light and to die.

So an occasional note fluttered down and if seen by watchful eyes at the corner windows, discipline was on the next day's program. Gradually this iron-clad régime softened. There came a day when the Andover Glee Club was to give a concert in the Academy hall. In regard to that occasion Miss Johnson wrote a characteristic note to the Principal of Phillips Academy whom she knew well:

Bradford Academy, Jan. 25, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. BANCROFT:

I think I will not cork up the champagne too tightly. Perhaps we can let it fizz a little if we both hold the cork.

I shall set the time of coming and going, the concert to be-

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gin at nine, and the performers to leave the grounds for home at half past ten promptly, not a moment later, earlier if the concert is short. If you can suggest anything that would be wise on my part, I should be glad. Of course I should not suggest the Theol. Sem. men's coming. I do not know that they are more safe than other men, as a class. There won't be much time for a reception except for music.

Sincerely yours,

ANNIE E. JOHNSON.

The audience was all seated in the hall when the boys arrived, and after the concert was over, brothers might talk with sisters, cousins with cousins of whom there were many.

These rigid social regulations, universal in girls' schools at that time, were not all due to a belief in a girl's total depravity. Miss Johnson was most liberal in her permissions to those she knew and trusted, but in the days before student government was born, nobody seemed to find out how to trust a hundred and fifty all at once. She was far more tolerant than most of her assistants. After a minor escapade like a midnight parade at Halloween which had disturbed a teacher whose threats of punishment had not been fulfilled, Miss Johnson at the close of evening prayers wished a long night's slumber to those who had not had their usual sleep the night before. It was left to Miss Knott twenty years later to surprise the girls by saying, "Whatever you do at night, please do not disturb the faculty; I wish them to teach you the next day."

One of the younger girls who had the special privilege of going to Boston alone became so absorbed in a novel by "The Duchess" on her return trip, that she was carried by her station, and arrived crestfallen and frightened two hours late. Seeing the girl's deep distress, Miss Johnson only advised her

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to read something other than "The Duchess" when she traveled between Boston and Bradford.

Some offences called for a very different treatment. A lie was her greatest abhorrence. To a girl who had tried to hide behind that defence she said, "There's a Bible. Find the last chapter of Revelations, the fifteenth verse; now go and learn that verse. When you know it, come and repeat it to me." Soon the unhappy girl returned and falteringly repeated, "Without are dogs, sorcerers . . . and every one that loveth and maketh a lie."

It is not for that severity, however well deserved, that hundreds of women today speak of Miss Johnson in such terms as these:

"She was a great character, her memory a rock to lean upon."

"Her memory keeps me from the weakness of self-pity and helps one to see in strained moments some element of humor."

"To me, even in those days, she seemed different, a woman set apart from other women, — a higher type. We might call it a mutation in nobleness."

"We felt that our future was of the greatest interest to one of the kindest creatures we should ever know, and that 'inner light' seemed almost dazzling as she kissed us good-night."

Her kindness won the most shrinking as well as the self-possessed girl. A confused and halting recitation from a girl who usually did her work well brought the after-class question, "What is it? Headache? There's an empty room on the first floor. Go there and spend the rest of the day in quiet." And then the heart-warming twinkle in her eyes!

To the convalescent, not strong enough to study, "Go out in the grove and spend the morning. At noon report to me how



TENNIS CLUB, 1889



TENNIS, 1929

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many varieties of flowers and trees you have found. Oh, you'll be busy enough!"

The need of a variety of recreation was never more keenly felt than in the early eighties. Most girls took the required daily walk, regularly planning to go with a different girl each day of the week throughout the term; not a bad way of adding to one's acquaintance. But even walking down Joel Road palled after a time, though the road might prove a rendezvous for the boys of the vicinity. When tennis was becoming popular even for girls, so rigid was the school economy that the girls organized their own tennis clubs, the first in 1883, marked off their courts on the grass west of the building and set in motion outdoor sports at Bradford. Nobody but the initiated ever knew what the initials "S. P. T. C." of that first club meant, but all could envy the long white flannel skirts, tight blouses and small sailor hats of that exclusive group.

In the spring of 1883 work was begun on the long-promised west wing, and the seniors took part in laying its corner stone. This addition was ready for use in September, 1884. It provided a long narrow room on the first floor for a gymnasium with a platform at the end which was used for class plays for nearly twenty years. In the basement below the gymnasium was a bowling alley which was fully appreciated and much used for contests in the winter. Opposite the gymnasium was a chemical laboratory; what is now the third floor laboratory was the art room for which the skylight was set in. Twelve "sound-proof" music rooms were the special pride of Dr. Cogswell, who again oversaw all construction. He was sure that the quadruple walls and doors would shut off all the sounds of piano practice from which everybody had long suffered. He did not know that the girls would usually forget to close some of the doors and would open the windows. There

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were rooms also for sixteen more girls and one or two more teachers. The observatory where the small telescope could be induced to give a glimpse of the "spotty globe" did not produce many astronomers, although sporadic interest was excited when Prof. Charles Young gave his biennial course of lectures.

Professor Young had begun to come to Bradford in 1873 and his name remained in the catalogue till 1900. His daughter Clara (Mrs. Hiram H. Hitchcock) was a student at the Academy in 1876 and 1877 while her father was still at Dartmouth College, and his niece Sarah Proctor (Mrs. Sidney B. Fay) graduated in 1894. Professor Young used to place his lantern in the middle of the hall and from that point talk familiarly about the pictures he threw on the screen. When he remarked, "I happened to be in Spain when the total eclipse of the sun took place in 1870," the students could not realize that that was one of the many times he had been commissioned to make observations, nor that his story of how bright lines flashed out in the spectrum of the corona where the dark lines had been, was his own important discovery.

His listeners now remember the genial personality of the lecturer ("Old Twinkle" he was called in Princeton) far better than his mathematical or astronomical facts, and they wish they could have overheard the stories which he and Miss Johnson exchanged as they lingered over their coffee after breakfast.

About this time Bradford had other visitors of still different types. Mr. Arthur Gilman of Cambridge, known in the seventies for having conceived the *Association for the Collegiate Education of Women*, familiarly called the "Harvard Annex," gave several series of lectures on literature. His second wife, Miss Stella Scott, had been a teacher at Bradford

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in 1876 and was a close friend of Miss Johnson. Later came their two daughters as students. Mr. Gilman's talks became less remote in tone as the girls discovered the friendly humor that accompanied his erudition. He must have understood young women, for, along with his responsibilities at the "Annex," he had a successful school for girls in Cambridge. Miss Johnson rejoiced with him and his wife when their dreams neared fruition, but she did not live to see the complete transformation of the "Annex" into Radcliffe College in 1894.

When the seniors learned that the great Mark Hopkins, ex-president of Williams College, and the very man who had written their *Outline of Study of Man*, and their *Law of Love and Love as a Law* was coming to lecture to them, the news brought grandeur disconcertingly near to dust, but Miss Johnson was kind and would not like the class disgraced if the great man asked questions. Later it seemed that everybody was to hear the lectures, though the underclass girls could not be expected to know about the origin of knowledge, nor why Berkeley did not believe in the existence of matter. When the lecturer turned out to be a very agreeable old gentleman who talked simply about thinking and conduct, the seniors had no chance to appear more intelligent than others. He had no eccentricities like Prof. John Lord nor pungent sarcasm like Professor Hudson. Nor, to tell the truth, was he so interesting as Prof. William T. Harris who talked about art and beauty in common things.

Bradford Academy's early association with the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem had brought several eminent scientists to the school. Now when Miss Johnson renewed those relations she was in the habit of taking a group of girls to Salem every spring to visit the Peabody Museum. Mr. John Robinson, the curator, annually invited the whole party to

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luncheon and showed the historical sights to the girls along with the riches of the Museum.

The trip to Salem had to be made by train, but there were excursions by other means. In September there were always girls, as there are now, who had never seen the ocean. A senior would ask the principal if an excursion could be made to the beach on Saturday. "Yes, if you will make all the arrangements." So they chartered the old steamer *Merrimac* which lay by the wharf near the bridge, and ordered the steward to make plenty of fish chowder. We would think it a slow voyage today, around the curve through the Groveland Bridge, down past West Newbury and Rock Village.

"Do you know Whittier's 'Swan Song of Parson Avery'?" Miss Johnson would ask. Since nobody did, she would tell the sad tale of the good parson who sailed from Newbury,

away where duty led,
And the voice of God seemed calling, to break the living bread
To the souls of fishers starving on the rocks of Marblehead.

Then through the chain bridge at Newburyport, close to the island home of Harriet Prescott Spofford, till the sand dunes of Salisbury were reached, and the horse cars took the crowd to the beach, not yet spoiled by commercialized recreation.

"But it doesn't look any bigger than Lake Michigan!" was the invariable chorus of the Chicago girls, while the freshman from Maine scoffed openly at an ocean without rocky headlands; but the comparisons were all futile—it was a day of days. New coats of sunburn, new friendships begun, new glimpses of Miss Johnson's kind philosophy as she noted the silence of a homesick girl, a new conception of a principal with whom one might argue on politics if one could find reason for one's faith.

"Why do you want to study political economy?" she asked

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a few hardy souls who thought the junior year should be embellished.

"Because we want to know all about free trade and protection."

"Why so?"

"Well, don't the Republicans believe in protection, and the Democrats in free trade? and shouldn't we learn why?"

"True, political economy does discuss the question, and it might be a good addition to our course, if you had the time to study it and we had a teacher for it."

She seldom discouraged an initiative among the girls, so when the juniors in 1887 wanted to publish a magazine, she told them to go ahead with it, and so completely did she trust them that she did not read the manuscript. *The Lantern*, which was printed by a brother of the editor-in-chief, came out in May, and for a week the juniors enjoyed a triumph. Suddenly the editors received a command from Dr. Cogswell, now President of the Board of Trustees, to send a note of apology to another trustee about whom they had been guilty of asking among "Queries," "Why does —— try to lecture on architecture?" That gentleman, whose friends were greatly agitated by such impudence, asked to have all copies of the book commandeered and brought to Dr. Cogswell. Miss Johnson played the peacemaker, and the brother claimed that since the books had not been paid for they belonged to him, so the frightened editors did not share the fate of some Dartmouth boys who had been found guilty of a like offence. Unfortunately the sad fate of *The Lantern* snuffed out all hopes the next class had of lighting a similar torch, and no class book or school magazine was attempted again for many a long year.

The Lantern throws a flicker of light on the social life of 1887. Of tennis clubs there were five, two bowling clubs, one

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for walkers, three so-called literary clubs, the Leonora Society, and half a dozen secret societies with mysterious initials. These societies did not outlive the Bradford life of their members, but the Leonora Society calls for more than a passing mention.

Mr. Downs, who had for seventeen years trained the chorus at both Abbot and Bradford and given special attention to the more musical groups of girls, organized in 1887 a society for part-singing in each school. For these he chose names from the characters in Beethoven's *Fidelio*, giving to the Bradford Society the name of "Leonora" and to Abbot that of "Fidelio." The first president of Leonora was Alice Huntington of Cleveland ('88). Originally the societies contained only about twenty-five girls, and their talents were displayed but seldom before the Commencement season; yet the training was valuable; even a slight association with Mr. Downs gave something of a musical education. The first appearance of the "Leonora" on the Commencement program was in June, 1888, when they sang Strauss's *Morning is Nigh*, and they soon began to take a leading part in an annual musicale given, at first in May, and later as the musical event of Commencement week.

Among the societies mentioned in *The Lantern* are the Foreign and Home Missionary Societies. The former was of early origin, we know, going back to the "Society for the Education of Pious Young Men," but Miss Johnson had a way of revitalizing old interests. She was as alive to the foreign missionary cause as her predecessors, and to that she added a specific interest in the work done in the United States. She helped to start the Women's Home Missionary Association in 1879 and was for many years a director of that organization, giving of her time and energy just when her cares at Bradford were the

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heaviest. She did not feel satisfied with the divided efforts of the two societies at school, so in November, 1885, she helped the girls form the "Christian Union" into which the missionary societies were gradually merged, and their functions assumed by separate committees. But the primary purpose of the "Christian Union" was the fostering of the personal Christian life of the girls; this without the excitement of religious revivals, but in the common intercourse of everyday life.

The strongest influence toward character building at this time came from the Sunday evening talks which Miss Johnson gave to the whole student body. None of these were ever written and therefore cannot be reproduced, but many a woman can testify today that her own aims and beliefs were largely molded by Miss Johnson. She had little patience for a mere flash of religious emotion.

"Oh, Miss Johnson, I want to tell you that I have found the Saviour," said a girl one evening.

"That's good; hold on to Him!" was the unexpected answer.

Her religious enthusiasm was combined with her never-failing common sense.

"Miss Johnson, how can one recognize a divine leading as against one's own desires?"

"One thing is sure," she replied, "the person who sees it will not be the one who never looks for it."

She seldom had interviews with girls for the express purpose of stimulating their religious interest; the word was dropped casually at the opportune moment, and the student had something to remember all her life. The head of a successful private school tells that when she went to say good-by to Miss Johnson at the close of the year, she inadvertently overheard this question, "Are you going to be a butterfly all your life, Jane?" There was a murmured reply, and Jane departed with a flushed

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face. Miss Johnson looked up to see who came next. "Mary, I am *sure* you are going to do something really worth while!" "That," said the teacher, "was the most decisive thing ever said to me."

A student's taste might be suddenly revolutionized by one of Miss Johnson's pithy criticisms. "What are you reading, Alice?" she asked a girl who was pleased to be discovered reading poetry.

"Owen Meredith's *Lucile*, Miss Johnson. Don't you think it's lovely?"

"Pretty good gosling kind of poetry!" and suddenly the book was only a jingling sentimental tale.

Robert Browning was her poet. "All one really needs to understand Browning is a fair amount of general information and good common sense," she used to say. Hearing her read from the shorter poems, passing from "Soliloquy in a Spanish Cloister" to "Love Among the Ruins," and again from "The Bishop Orders His Tomb" to "The Last Ride Together" was better than being a member of a Browning society.

Yet the gentler poets were not neglected. It was a September evening, the night before a state election. Girls stood at the east window watching the moon rising beyond the white church spire. Miss Johnson stepped from her room and joined the group. Quietly she repeated:

From gold to gray
Our mild sweet day
Of Indian Summer fades too soon;
But tenderly
Above the sea
Hangs, white and calm, the hunter's moon.

In its pale fire
The village spire
Shows like the zodiac's spectral lance;

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And her voice was very solemn on :

The crowning fact,
The kingliest act,
Of Freedom is the freeman's vote.

After that evening, thanks to Whittier and Miss Johnson, a night before any election always had a meaning of grave beauty.

A visit to the birthplace of the poet was a common occurrence, but a drive to his Amesbury home in the old chaise with Miss Johnson meant a glimpse of Whittier himself, if her manoeuvres brought him out to the gate at the end of her call.

Most delightful of all literary people who came to visit Miss Johnson were Sarah Orne Jewett and her sister, Mary, from South Berwick, Me. The students seldom met the former, who was usually on her way to the home of Mrs. James T. Fields in Boston, but Miss Mary often stayed long enough to get acquainted with the girls, whom she seemed to enjoy greatly. To sit at table while Miss Jewett and her hostess exchanged stories of life in Maine or recipes for pastry, or discussed new books, was a rare privilege. A summer which the two friends spent together in England furnished many a tale.

As a teacher even more than as an administrator Miss Johnson was recognized in all educational circles in her day. While it used to be said that she had a "man's mind" we would now say that today she could ably fill a chair of philosophy or psychology in one of the large colleges. Even Paley's *Natural Theology* became interesting, but she grew tired of his endless proof that "design proves a designer," and introduced more modern books. She even persuaded the trustees to allow the hoary Butler to be superseded by Fisher's *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, a change which had the disadvantage of the supposition that the seniors could understand a modern

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book, whereas their inability to translate Butler had always been excusable.

Through her old friend Prof. Egbert Smyth of Andover she came to know the seminary men very well just at the time of the "Andover heresy" excitement. Echoes of that discussion were heard in Bradford. Girls asked her if she thought the "heathen" were to suffer forever when they had never heard of Christianity. Turning to her bookshelves — they were always within reach — she opened her Whittier to "The Grave by the Lake":

Cast on God thy care of these;
Trust Him if thy sight be dim;
Doubt for them is doubt of Him.

* * * * *

Deep below, as high above
Sweeps the circle of God's love.

So her sympathies were all with the liberal men and their views as expressed in the *Andover Review*. She told with a chuckle that she had heard a woman at the heresy trial say, "I would have known Professor Smyth by his evil eye."

Professor Smyth and Professor Harris used to drive over to Bradford and sometimes Miss Johnson was called to a conference in Andover.

One of the girls who saw her get into the carriage to start for Andover has recorded the picture:

"I can see her now in the old green and blue plaid shawl pinned over her shoulders. She wore a black bonnet and carried a light brown basket on her arm. I wished she had not taken that old basket, but doubtless she was carrying jelly or books or something good for body or soul to some Andover friend who needed just that kindness, for she never forgot the little friendly things even in the hour of larger interests."

What that particular conference was about no one knew,

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but she shared largely in many of the seminary interests. *The Andover Review* of October, 1890, contained an article on "Some aspects of educational development in New England during the present century," by Annie E. Johnson, one of three articles written by women for that review during the year. It stressed the poverty and bad management of the public district schools but declared that the graded schools were better, though their neglect of moral training was regrettable. The last paragraphs on the need of religious education might have been written in 1929.

On coming to Bradford Miss Johnson found her Framingham friend, Mrs. Arthur Train, and through her she soon met a group of women who wished to get together regularly for study. They formed a small cultural club, probably the first in Haverhill, very serious in its educational program, and ready to be led by one who never tired of mapping out a field of study, new or old. Most ardent in coöperation were Mrs. Benjamin Hosford, wife of the Center Church minister, the man most active in developing the Haverhill public schools; and Miss Harriet Nelson then teaching in the high school. They chose Rome for study and called themselves the Roman Club, but after the death of Mrs. Hosford they adopted her name for their organization. They were not afraid to study comparative religions, the history of architecture, and schools of philosophy, and this before "Outlines" of everything were on the market. Miss Johnson enjoyed architecture no less than philosophy and for her senior class gave a series of comprehensive lectures on the subject, using whatever photographs she could procure. When she lectured on Santa Sophia at Constantinople she used a model, with all its domes, semi-domes and buttresses, which she had made for the purpose.

As the eighties slipped into the nineties the school grew in

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numbers and reputation. It was so crowded that the teachers were asked to room together, and there was no bed available for Miss Ireson on her weekly visit, except a sofa in Miss Johnson's room, an arrangement with they both said they enjoyed. The problem of more space was to be met by the addition of the east wing, now long overdue. At last the plans were adopted and the work begun early in 1892. Suddenly came the worst single disaster which the school ever suffered. Three girls were stricken with fever which was not at once recognized. When it was diagnosed as typhoid all students were at once sent to their homes. So serious was the situation regarded that the reopening was several times postponed, until at last, the seniors were summoned for graduation without having been in residence during the spring term. A number of them returned the next year, however, to make up the work they lacked.

For their compensation the Commencement exercises were made especially notable. The hated topic and the traditional essays were, in this emergency, banished forever. Carl Baermann, the great interpreter of Beethoven, played the *Sonata Appassionata* and Schumann's *Carnival*, and Dr. Peabody of Harvard gave a memorable address. The class was also allowed to celebrate Class Day for the first time at Bradford. These were the girls who had shown initiative and determination in the project of furnishing the parlor of the school, thereby starting class gifts as a regular custom.

It was partly owing to the efforts of this class to make the bare parlors more inviting that Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, who after her husband's death in 1888 had succeeded him as trustee, gave to the Academy eight valuable oil paintings. One of these is a good example of the German painter, Fritz von Uhde, and another is an ancient Madonna, painted on stone

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which was found in a Russian Chapel. Mrs. Warren added to these a complete set of the reprints of Old Masters by the Arundel Society. These valuable works of art still bear visible testimony to the devotion of the Warrens to Bradford.

Meantime the east wing was finished and ready for occupancy in September, 1892. It added rooms for twenty-six girls, two teachers, and the housekeeper, a guest room, two classrooms, and a small infirmary.

Miss Johnson moved into the northeast corner room on the second floor; the third floor classroom was fitted up as the "senior room"; while special gifts from Judge Addison Brown made possible the furnishing of the first floor room as a botanical laboratory. Judge Brown, now a very successful New York lawyer, had always followed botany as his avocation and wrote a manual of the science in his last years.

During these later years Miss Johnson had been relieved of some of her cares by Miss Allen, but she refused to give up her teaching. When Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar" appeared in December (1889) and Browning's "Epilogue to Asoland" (1890) within a few months of each other, she talked freely with the girls about the two poems, not merely as poetry but as two attitudes toward an experience which she anticipated with entire tranquillity. She had lived more vigorously than most people of sixty-four and intended to enjoy every remaining year. In December, 1892, she wrote to a friend:

"How good it will be to come to the country where the beloveds do not fade from us. And yet I like this world still. It holds so many good things, but not so many as the other land, and the balance is constantly growing there."

She knew well the meaning of a premonitory shock which had occurred before those words were written, but she recovered from it so completely that others felt little alarm.

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At the breakfast table on the day school was closing for the Christmas vacation, 1893, she said, "I wonder, when it is time for us *all* to go Home, if we shall be as happy then!" Later in the day she finished packing her gifts and made ready the dress which she was to wear at the wedding of one of her girls, by sewing her best lace into the neck and sleeves. Feeling rather tired she lay down for a rest before starting, and there in her room they found her unconscious from a stroke of apoplexy. She recovered consciousness and talked a little saying, "It will all come out right," before she slipped away, January 8, 1894.

The teachers and girls who had returned from vacation were all present at the service in the school hall conducted by Prof. Egbert Smyth. Later in Brunswick at her own home the funeral service was fittingly closed by the reading of a stanza from the *Epilogue*.

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

CHAPTER XV

TO THE NEW CENTURY

1894-1901

THE personality of Annie E. Johnson so completely dominated Bradford life for nearly twenty years it seemed to her old students that her passing must necessarily make fundamental changes in the school. They forgot that the life of such an institution is a continuous fabric, the pattern of which having been determined by an Abigail Hasseltine or an Annie Johnson, is not greatly altered until another designer, recognizing a demand for a different product, modifies the old pattern to meet the new conditions. The world had, in fact, begun to ask for changes in girls' schools everywhere. It asked for adjustment to the public high schools and to the women's colleges. It called for a recognition of individual differences in students, especially those who might have gifts for the fine arts; it asked for a softening of the rigid lines of school environment; and Miss Allen, who became principal in 1894 was well fitted to make some of these changes.

Miss Ida C. Allen was born in Dover, N. H., June 19, 1851. She graduated from the Salem Normal School, having met all the requirements of the course in one year of study. Her first teaching was in Berwick Academy, South Berwick, Me., and from there she was appointed to the high school of her home town. Her gifts as a teacher developed rapidly, and during her fifteen years in Dover she declined many tempting calls elsewhere on account of illness in her family. After repeated calls to Bradford she came in the fall of 1886 as a teacher of literature and in the following year was made assistant principal. With her came from Dover, Miss Mary Stuart Anthony,

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a graduate of Smith College and a very able teacher of the ancient languages. In the six years preceding Miss Johnson's death Miss Allen had made valuable contributions to the life of the school. She had taken over the administrative work which Miss Pinkerton had done, and with no secretarial help, except what other teachers could offer, had evolved a better system of academic records. In manner more approachable than Miss Johnson, she won the affection of many a girl whose academic situation needed personal attention. In addition to her teaching of literature she offered in 1892 for the first time a course in the history of art which she developed further as greater facilities became available, and which she made an important feature of the curriculum. The enthusiasm created by this course for seniors was contagious. Students became interested in many art subjects. At great personal expense, and with some aid from the Alumnae Association, Miss Allen made it possible for the whole school to benefit by the Arundel Prints of Old Masters by having them framed and hung about the building. A complete set of Raphael's "Hours" was hung by the stairway from the second to the third floor. After a summer in England she decorated the senior recitation room on the third floor with a frieze of English scenes by which students ever since have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with English abbeys and cathedrals. Miss Anthony generously made over the Latin room, giving its walls a Pompeian red and a number of classical pictures.

Other relief for bare walls and scanty furniture was not easy because funds were low. The board and tuition rate which had remained at three hundred and twenty dollars from 1872 to 1891 was raised at the latter date to three hundred and sixty dollars. It should be added that Bradford's traditional policy of helping girls of limited means was still followed.



IDA C. ALLEN

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Every year from four to six students were given the opportunity to earn a large part of their fees, and smaller scholarships were awarded to others. From many of these students the school afterwards received unusual service and lasting loyalty which more than repaid the financial sacrifice. It can readily be seen, however, that this kind of budget-making left no margin for expenditures on decoration. A stranger entering the front hall saw on his left a narrow unattractive room, scantily furnished, for the use of the twenty or more day-pupils. Its shabbiness had for years cried for attention. In 1899 Miss Allen, Miss Barstow, and others secured funds for its transformation. By combining it with the adjoining room, a reception room of good proportions was made and its dignified and beautiful furnishings have to this day given a pleasant tone to the entrance of the building. The Class of 1900 by hard work earned money for their class gift—the “grandfather” clock in the front hall. Sharp eyes can discern in the case a group picture of the girls of 1900.

Meanwhile the alumnae gained permission to remodel the reading room, the most easterly of the three library rooms on the third floor, as a memorial to Miss Annie E. Johnson. They felt that such a room appropriately furnished with fireplace, magazine racks, library table, desk, and chairs would be a lasting symbol of at least one phase of her liberal influence. In October, 1902, the work was completed by placing a portrait of Miss Johnson, the gift of the Class of 1894, over the mantelpiece.

The time had also come for some modification of the daily routine of school life. For many years the school day had been divided as follows: the forenoon contained the morning chapel period, short but often memorable for the terse comments of Miss Johnson, and four recitation periods of one hour each,

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followed by the most exciting moment of the day — the distribution of mail. At that ceremony a teacher opened the big mail bag and called the names of the lucky ones. Then came the dinner hour from one to two o'clock. At the long tables thirteen or fourteen girls were all served by one teacher who must carve the roast and cut the pies with mathematical accuracy else she would find her own plate leanly filled. It had been Miss Johnson's custom to teach the girls who sat at her table to carve, a bit of teaching for which many a woman thanked her in later years, although at the time it did not hasten the serving of hungry girls.

The afternoon recreation time was followed at three forty-five by two more periods of recitation or study. Supper at six, evening prayers conducted by the teachers in rotation, another distribution of mail, recreation till seven-thirty — the time for dancing and for the Dickens Club to pick up the story of how Pip lost his "great expectations," or what Lady Dedlock knew about the murder of Mr. Tulkinhorn. Then more study hour till nine; time to fill water pitchers and say good night to one's best beloved; lights out at nine forty-five. Did anyone ever "retire" *before* "lights out"?

Miss Allen instituted the humane custom of dinner at six o'clock, with the tacit understanding that a change of dress would be acceptable. That so simple and civilizing an innovation should have its reverberations among the alumnae only shows that Bradford graduates are sometimes like those of other schools! When they learned that Bradford had also acquired a "chef," it was positively a scandal! When, however, some of them learned what a blessing Robert Fielding was to the school for twenty years — the kindest, most reliable man who ever fed ravenous girls — they thanked the administration for securing his services.

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Sunday observance remained much the same. Till nearly the end of Dr. Kingsbury's pastorate (1866-1900) all the girls except the Episcopalians, who went to Haverhill, sat in the big gallery at the rear of the Congregational Church. Being herded together and forced to occupy uncomfortable seats every Sunday morning did not cultivate a reverential mood. The wonder is that not more than an occasional muff or hymn book fell from the gallery. The girl who placed a clock on the railing facing the pulpit never told the sequel of that story. However, it was not Dr. Kingsbury but his successor who twice gave out on opening Sundays of the year the responsive reading beginning, "Lord, how are they increased that trouble me!" In the late nineties, perhaps because there were fewer girls, individual preferences could be regarded; it came to be considered safe for them to attend other churches, and the remaining group sat in the body of the church like other human beings. Sunday afternoon still had its "quiet hour" for letter writing and reading. Miss Allen continued the custom of Sunday evening talks on ethical and religious subjects, and there was time for music.

In school entertainments there was a little more freedom. The seniors of '99 gave a farce called "The Masque of Culture" to an appreciative audience of outside guests among whom were the Abbot seniors. The juniors were no less enterprising. For the Washington's Birthday celebration they put on an amusing operetta, "Pinafore of the Revolution" which Miss Anthony helped them present. The surprise came when they were allowed to give a minstrel show and wear bloomers on the stage. Outdoor sports were also increasing but not as much as in other schools and colleges. To tennis was added basket-ball, but without expert teaching. Then came golf, not as it came to Abbot Academy where the course was marked

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out by a trustee,¹ but with the enthusiasm of a girl who laid the course and sunk tin cans in the putting greens. The contemporary verse in the *Abbot Courant* probably applied equally to both schools:

There is a new golf course at Abbot,
And each afternoon 'tis the habit
Of each skillful maiden, with many clubs laden,
To skip round the course like a rabbit.

And this was the Bicycle Age. Teachers and girls together explored the countryside, and in its beauty forgot the heated discussions about the length of the bicycle skirt. Sleigh rides — “straw rides” — when horses, as slow as Homeric “swing-paced cattle,” tugged a load of singing girls through the snow; snow fights of more warlike quality than the usual giggling scrimmages; visits to Abbot’s first Field Days² (1899 and 1900) when Abbot girls actually hurdled and broad-jumped — something not yet done at Bradford.

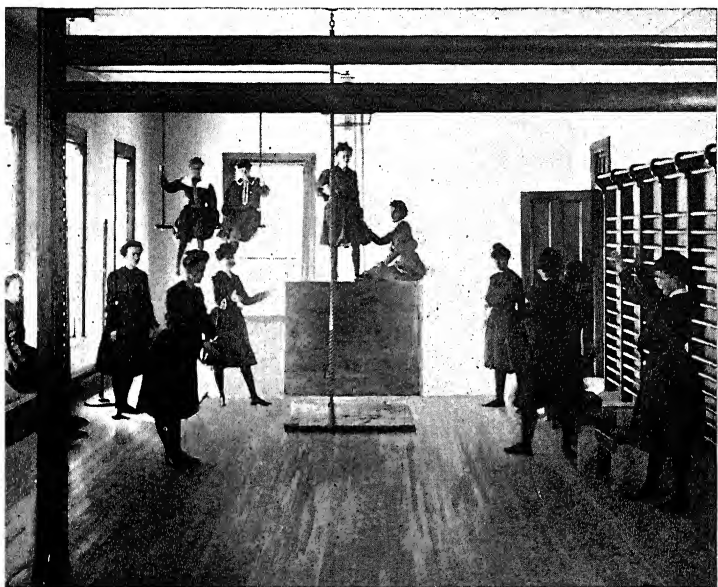
While the smaller numbers made for closer relations between faculty and students and among students themselves, a counteracting influence centered in the secret societies which had gained a strong foothold in recent years, as they had in most colleges and many schools. Two strong rival societies commanded the allegiance of many of the finest girls. Drawn into such a group, a new girl found herself among devoted friends whom she was pledged to support, whether it was a matter of office holding or standards of conduct. Many of these friendships were very beautiful and lasting, and the bonds between returning alumnae and their “sisters” in school gave the graduates a feeling of home-coming, but the drain of con-

¹ Kelsey, Katherine R., *Abbot Academy Sketches*, p. 174. Houghton & Mifflin, 1929.

² Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 173.



GOLF IN 1902



OLD GYMNASIUM, 1902

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flicting loyalties upon the morale of the school was too heavy. In Abbot Academy, also, secret societies existed at this time and under similar conditions.³ There the status of the societies was somewhat changed in 1902 by the requirement that the principal or a member of the faculty should be admitted to each, a measure which gave them formal recognition. Ten years later, soon after Miss Bailey became principal, they were disbanded. At Bradford they continued till 1907. Delightful as were the relations between the members of these societies, in schools as small as Bradford and Abbot they inevitably created much needless unhappiness among girls who looked on from outside, while class and school unity were practically unattainable. Even an attempt to set apart a room for a senior parlor at Bradford failed for lack of class spirit. It took an event of outstanding importance or excitement to call forth a united interest. When McKinley was elected there were no Democrats left on the mourners' bench; everybody went to the hall to cheer. The announcement that a teacher, after thirty years at Bradford, was engaged to be married, created such a furor that the entire school held a parade about the building which lasted till an unholy hour.

The events of Commencement had increased in social importance. The musicale in which the Leonora Society had the leading part had been for some time an occasion for inviting one's young men friends, but not till June, 1900, was there a dance to which men were invited. The seniors that year were allowed the unprecedented privilege, and since the dining room was transformed into a ballroom, it is easy to guess the excitement above stairs where undergraduates were supposed to be sound asleep.

³ Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

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Class Day, too, which now showed originality and appreciation of Bradford's resources, drew an increasingly large number of guests. The "95's" began their class ceremonies on Monday evening by planting an ivy at each end of the building and by a Maypole dance on the lawn, witnessed only by the school. Tuesday afternoon they invited their friends to the grove by the water's edge. There a leafy reception room had been formed by fastening from tree to tree bands of green and white tarlatan tied with great bunches of daisies. The guests were no sooner received by the class president, Sarah Clark (Mrs. Henry Osborn), than they saw on the lake five boats with five girls in each—the Leonora Society. Their boat songs floated in toward the guests for a time; then the boats disappeared beyond the bridge. Elaborate refreshments were served in another green and white bower under the trees. The grove and lake were again used to advantage by the Class of '98, this time for a Float Day in which all the five classes took part, a class group singing in each boat. As the boats closed ranks the singing was led by the Leonora president, Maud Cushing (Mrs. M. C. Nash), and the songs were brought to a close by an appropriate refrain from each class. Then came a "promenade concert" in the grove, with an orchestra hidden in the trees.

The solemnity of the Baccalaureate service was also touched by a deeper appreciation of beauty. The Class of 1900 asked that Dr. Alexander McKenzie of Cambridge preach for them. Of him the class president, Eva Kammer (Mrs. W. S. Howe), said, "Dr. McKenzie was a great friend of B. A., and all the girls loved him." In answer to her invitation to Commencement he wrote her, "I am glad your class lets me come on Sunday. If I can make the world more beautiful in your eyes, and the summer more rich in delights, I shall be content." He

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took for his text the Psalmist's words, "Thou hast made the summer," and began by saying:

"There are three important words in that sentence, *God*, *made*, and *summer*. In the reverse order we find here three things taught in this school: nature, science, religion."

It was the summer, its life and beauty, which he opened to the class as a revelation of God. Fortunately it was a perfect June day. A new distinction was given to the procession to and from the church by having the underclass girls escort the seniors with a daisy chain.

Lecturers and artists of note continued to come to the school. Dr. McKenzie gave a lecture on "Words and Their Uses" which should have been preserved in some form. In the same year (1898) F. Marion Crawford, whose romantic novels about Italian life everyone was reading, lectured on "The Pope and the Vatican," and since it was just the time of the publication of his history, *Ave Roma Immortalis*, he must have been heard as one having authority. The last visit of Professor Young, the astronomer, was also in that year. Prof. William H. Goodyear, author of *The Grammar of the Lotus*, and many other books on painting and sculpture, gave several courses of lectures which added value to the historical study of art. Mr. Downs continued to arrange annually three recitals by well-known musicians, usually making an identical provision for Abbot Academy. Edward MacDowell gave a recital February 22, 1899, and since two-thirds of the program was made up of his own compositions it has special significance. All of these are interesting and representative and most of them are played today. Heinrich Gebhard brought inspiration and despair to piano students by several recitals. Can anyone who ever heard Max Heinrich sing fail to recall him as he played his own accompaniments, while his voluptu-

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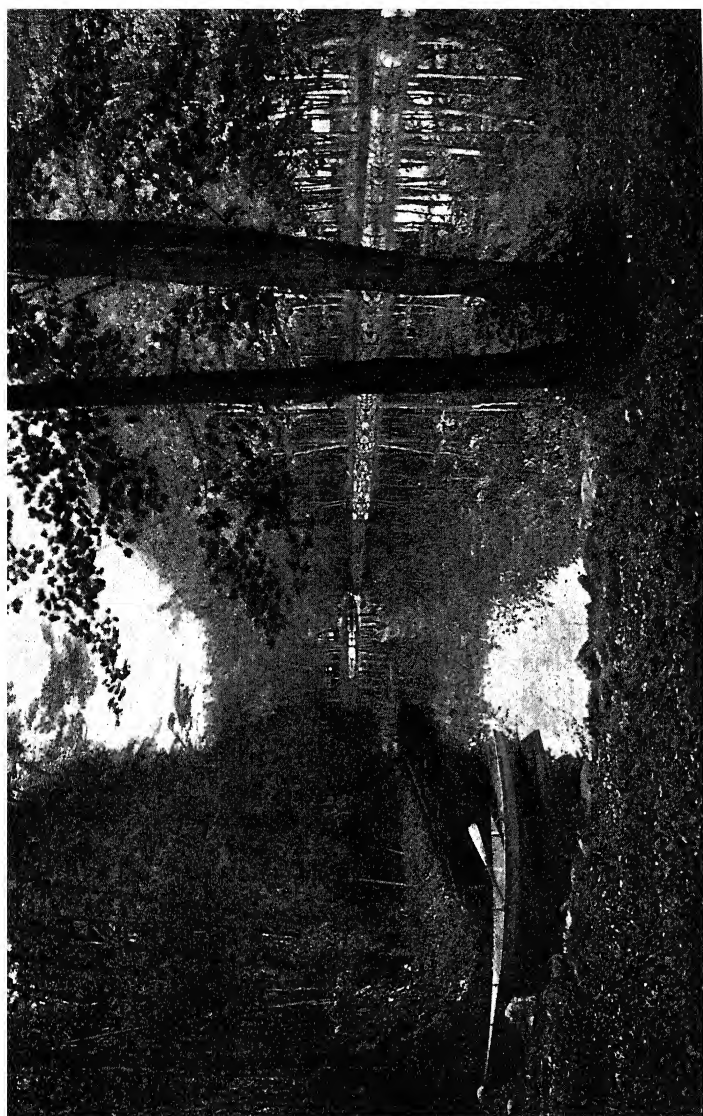
ous voice poured forth enchanting love songs, his eyes meanwhile roving the faces of the girls! Mr. Downs, for some reason, seemed less nervous when Madame Heinrich or Miss Julia was on the platform with the celebrated tenor.

We have seen that Bradford life in the closing years of the century, while retaining much of its conservative atmosphere, was growing into a world of beauty. A picture of the period drawn from the memory of two of those years has, at the request of the present writer, been written by Miss Emma Patten Beard of Norwalk, Conn., a member of the Class of 1899 and a well-known author of children's stories. Miss Beard calls her sketch

JUST BEFORE THE NEW DAY

Looking back over the years since the turn of the century to the days at Bradford before the new order broke in upon the old, I am reminded of how I once sat up all night long to watch the sky's changes from my window that faced Haverhill, the hills, and the river. With me was a classmate. And we were so busy talking of what the future held for us that the hours of the night passed as the white clouds drifted over the sky, and before we knew it there came in the east the first faint dawn light that was a prophet of the New Day's beginning. This was a symbol of those years before the turn of the century, and I have often thought how true the symbol was, for the dawn that morning was unusually lovely, and the rose in the east — why, it was also a symbol of the peace and promise of those years.

Bradford then was a big homelike school in which the routine of study was broken by much outdoor happiness in long rambles on foot or bicycle, basket-ball and tennis for recreation, rowing on the lake in spring and fall, or skating in win-



LAKE TUPELO

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ter. It was a school with a Purpose; we were there to study, to learn, to be formed for what life held for us. We were a serious minded group on the whole, though there were happy exceptions to give spice to school life. There was dancing in the gym every evening but no dances to which outsiders were invited. When we had guests we invited them to a concert or lecture. Even our school plays acted in the gym were for our own amusement, though the girls from Abbot sometimes came. There was no Student Government but there was a very decided public feeling on the part of the girls to preserve the honor of the school and to let any offence be known, so that offenders came for judgment usually first by the girls themselves. We were not so different from the girls of today; we had unusual freedom to come and go. Bradford in this was almost like a college; we did not feel restraint. It was not in any way a narrow life that we led in our little community.

We gained not only the background that all Bradford girls have cherished in the ideals of womanhood; we gained in wide measure a deep love of nature, for many of us an hitherto closed book. The autumn at Bradford, the winter, the spring touched us intimately with beauty. The walks after botanical specimens brought us close; the wonderful rides on bicycles showed us the hills, the streams, and the woods; and with us went those who loved it and interpreted it for us: Mademoiselle Meyer on her beloved bicycle, "Little Miss Cram," always ready to laugh with us, Miss Jameson who loved lovely things, and Miss Keller who could make us love her Wordsworth.

In our lessons we were happy too. Miss Allen taught us to enjoy the Old Masters. We had them about us. They grew upon us and became a part of the beauty that was Bradford's, though it at that time had few other beauties. It was almost Puritan in its bareness, though Miss Allen did what she could

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to urge us to make the school lovely in its furnishings.

Of course we looked forward to the time that *was* coming, and we hoped for changes in the older order of education for girls; we wanted a new gym, we wanted callers, we wanted to see the changes that the next few years brought. We all knew they were coming, as one looks for the sun on the horizon in place of the first faint rose of light.

As I look back I am glad that I came then, for I believe the girls at that period carried into life an idealism that was characteristic of the period. We — we were the ones who went out before the New Day, as faint stars vanish in the sky at dawn.

The New Day in the education of girls, which might be called the underlying theme of the whole history of Bradford Academy, had, of course, passed far beyond the dawn. Hundreds of young women were graduating from the state universities and the women's colleges. Any surviving skeptics about the capabilities of women for college education had to admit in 1894, when President Eliot countersigned the first Radcliffe diplomas, that women were getting the same college work as men. But who was teaching all these girls their Latin, Greek, French, German, and all the other requirements? This problem the high schools, even the smaller ones, were boldly facing, and with a large measure of success were maintaining a classical or college preparatory course along with the English or more practical one. But the girls' private schools of the older type were slow to adopt a plan which would mean, either the sacrifice of a number of subjects like logic, mental science, history of art, and ethics; or a combination of the two aims — preparation for college and a short cultural course beyond the high school. So it came about that while the high schools were sending their girls to "earn the certifi-

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cate right" at Mount Holyoke, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley, and their teachers with the junior girls were watching to see if the coveted right of entrance without examination were secured, Bradford Academy and many other schools for girls, well supplied with college-bred teachers, continued to offer small portions of the classics, one term courses in science, two term courses in history, etc., none of which had the quantitative value required for college entrance. Bradford did, in a few cases, give the required fitting but largely by individual teaching. The Bradford faculty was admirably fitted to do this work; Miss Anthony was probably the best teacher of Latin and Greek that the school had had; Miss Jameson's mathematics could easily have filled the requirements; the same was true of Mlle. Meyer and other teachers.

It is clear, then, that the trustees either felt that if the advanced subjects were dropped the Academy would sink to the level of the secondary school, or they had not the funds, or courage, or both to attempt a definite combination of the two aims. That the latter was probably true can be seen by a comparison with the changes which Wheaton Seminary — almost as close a "sister school" as Abbot Academy — inaugurated at this time.

The biographer of Mrs. Wheaton⁴ dates the acute need of readjustment from 1894, when the "Harvard Annex" became Radcliffe College, but the need of good preparatory schools had been felt ever since the founding of Vassar. Realizing the changed conditions, Mrs. Wheaton in her ninetieth year saw what must be done, much as she disliked to change the character of the Seminary. She added to its endowment a sum large enough to secure more teachers, to build a gymnasium, and to induce a man, Rev. Samuel V. Cole, to become the head

⁴ Paine, Harriet E., *Life of Eliza Baylies Wheaton*, p. 229. Riverside Press, 1907.

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of the Seminary. The enlarged curriculum showed, in the circulars of 1899 and 1900, a definite college preparatory course and three lines of seminary courses — classical, literary, and scientific, like those of the colleges, only on a smaller scale.

The trustees of Bradford Academy were all giving much anxious thought to the school, but the work of the executive committee was carried on by the local members, Mr. John L. Hobson and Mr. Elbridge G. Wood of Haverhill, and the treasurer, Mr. Samuel Hopkinson of Bradford, all able business men. Naturally they were not in touch with educational trends, and even if they had seen the situation clearly from that standpoint, they had no funds for enlargement. Their greatest anxiety was caused by the decline in the number of students. This decrease in registration (107 in 1898, 91 in 1899, 54 in 1900, 48 in 1901) meant a serious financial crisis. They secured the services of Mr. Edward W. Thompson as field agent in place of the usual advertising, and this method brought some good results. The heaviest burden fell, of course, upon Miss Allen, the principal or *president*, as she was titled in the last two years. She had given lavishly of her own time, strength, and money, and now she offered to postpone her salary till more prosperous days. The trustees were unwilling that she should make this sacrifice; she therefore sent them her resignation in December, 1900. They accepted it in the following terms:

"In accepting Miss Allen's retirement, the Board places on record its high appreciation of her eminent qualities both as teacher and principal, and of her long and devoted service, first as assistant principal, afterward as associate, and finally as sole principal of the Academy. It records its recognition of her earnestness, zeal, and success, not merely in promoting sound learning and in elevating the standards of

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scholarship, but especially in the development and expansion of the study of the Fine Arts and Belles Lettres; and it gratefully acknowledges its obligations to her for the generosity of herself and her friends in their many gifts whereby the Academy, especially in the latter departments, has been enriched and adorned. With special satisfaction, also, the Board recognizes the ability and success of Miss Allen in the maintenance of that home-like Christian nurture, and that just but gentle discipline, which, despite the greater difficulties of recent times, have kept the Academy, as in the past, so down to the present hour, high above stain or reproach, entitling it still to the confidence of parents in the care and training of their children."

Miss Anthony's withdrawal took place at the same time, and two other teachers closed unusually long terms of service—Miss Ireson and Miss Barstow, the latter to become the wife of Mr. Samuel Ward of Newton Centre. To the home of Miss Allen and Miss Anthony in Brookline many of their old students frequently found their way and always a warm welcome. Here Miss Allen died September 30, 1929.

Anyone at all familiar with the life of an institution over a number of years knows what the passing of a crisis like that at Bradford in 1901 meant in the breaking of ties and the painful uprooting of associations. Such had been the case also in 1875 when Miss Abby Johnson left the Academy. Happy are those alumnae who find as the years pass, that under changing leadership and new policies they may still feel a keen and affectionate interest in the school, through students whom they know, through the activities of alumnae bodies, or, better still, by a combination of these with individual service. By such loyalty, carried through to the third and fourth generation, has Bradford Academy been sustained.

CHAPTER XVI

TRUSTEES. 1895-1928

ON the Bradford Board of Trustees, as elsewhere, the close of the century brought many changes. Before passing to the members most active in 1900-1901 we should pay tribute to those whose services had recently ended or were about to come to a close.

By far the longest period of active service given by any man to Bradford Academy was that of Dr. George Cogswell, a trustee for fifty-seven years (1838-1895) and *emeritus* till his death in 1901. His closest rival in length of service was Benjamin Greenleaf with a record of forty-nine years. The frequency with which Dr. Cogswell's name has appeared on these pages bears witness to the constancy of his devotion, but does not tell the variety of his labors. So far as the physical equipment of the Academy was concerned, he might well be called its Master Builder, for, as we have seen, he superintended the erection of both the second building (1841) and the present one, including all its additions till 1895. One can easily imagine what pleasure the present gymnasium and the new infirmary would have given him. It was not always of those larger matters, however, that he talked by his sitting room fire with the Academy friends who came to chat with him in those "emeritus" days. His interest in the girls to whom he had presented diplomas, in the teachers he had helped to secure and who had now gone elsewhere, in the physiology class for which he had bought so much equipment in Paris — these and many more he wished to hear about. The climax of his hospitality was reached in those springtime parties to which faculty and seniors were invited, when the front parlor

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with its beautiful Italian furniture was opened. There, assisted by his daughters, the courtly old gentleman received his guests. There was always a crowd in the dining room, for the table was loaded with such good things that the "Cogswell Tea" became a traditional event which no senior could afford to miss. Long after the fireside chair became vacant his daughters kept up that pleasant custom, for their love for the Academy had the double foundation of their father's devotion and their own school association.

Rev. John D. Kingsbury, D.D., had come upon the Board soon after he came to Bradford in 1866, and followed Rev. Nathan Munroe as secretary. During the thirty-six years of his Bradford pastorate he served the Academy in one capacity after another. These duties in addition to those of his pulpit and parish must have greatly increased his cares. This was especially true when he was on the executive committee in the early nineties during the trying period of the typhoid fever panic and the building of the east wing. In 1900 he entered into the work of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, which took him away from his Bradford home; he therefore resigned his trusteeship in that year. He died in Bradford in 1908. His *Memorial History of Bradford*, which is chiefly a history of the Bradford Church (1682-1882), is a valuable document, particularly in its treatment of the colonial period.

Another trustee whose removal to a distance broke his official connection with the school was Rev. Nehemiah Boynton. He had come as a young man to the North Congregational Church, Haverhill, succeeding Rev. Raymond Seeley, D.D., and was naturally appointed to succeed him as a Bradford trustee. He has often told how startled he felt to be considered old, or wise, enough to "trustee" a school which he had so re-

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cently known as a Phillips Academy friend of Bradford girls. His name remained upon the Board for some time after he moved to Detroit, but in 1901 his resignation was accepted.

William A. Russell of Lawrence became a trustee when plans were being formed for the new building in 1868. His generous gifts at that time were only a part of his service, for he was a member of the executive committee from 1891 to 1898, and bore his share of his responsibilities through that often trying period. His wife was a Bradford graduate and his niece Gertrude (Mrs. Charles Briggs) was a student in the Academy in 1888.

Till 1892 no woman had served on the Board of Trustees. In that year Mrs. Susan Clarke Warren was asked to fill the place left vacant by the death of her husband in 1888. Her letters to the trustees regarding the paintings which she presented in 1892 show the care with which she had selected them and her desire that various branches of art should be stressed in the curriculum. Upon her death in 1901 she left five thousand dollars for the art department, and because of this endowment Dr. Edmund von Mach was secured in 1902 to teach the history of art. Perhaps the most important bequest made by Mr. and Mrs. Warren to Bradford Academy was the profound interest in the school on the part of their daughter Cornelia, who became a trustee in 1901. Before the objects of art which Mrs. Warren had collected were dispersed from the Mt. Vernon Street home in Boston, Miss Warren invited the faculty and seniors to see them. In the following years she was not only frequently at the Academy, but every year she entertained the senior class and faculty at Cedar Hill. How many of the readers of these pages have ever tried to find their way through the famous maze which Mr. Warren had copied from the Royal Maze at Hampton Court? Did you find the Conso-



A WOOD PATH

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lation Seat or did the man in the tower have to rescue you? And if the number of guests was not too large did Miss Warren sit down at the piano and play for you? This hospitality every one knew about, but only Miss Knott and some of the trustees knew of her painstaking work as secretary of the Board and of the part she played as a veritable fairy godmother, wise, generous, and devoted till her last illness in 1921. She left a bequest of five thousand dollars to the department of music.

In the fall of 1899 at the annual meeting of the Alumnae Association it was suggested that the trustees would be glad to have the Association nominate one of their number for election to the Board. The alumnae took action at once and nominated their president, Mrs. Annie Sawyer Downs. No one was better fitted to be the first Alumnae trustee. As a child she had lived in Concord where the influence of Emerson and Hawthorne had given a literary bent to her tastes. She had great initiative and energy; she was well informed about schools, public and private. She was constantly writing and lecturing on cultural subjects, but like her husband, she was never too busy to do something more for Bradford. Andover has had many a home of peculiar interest, but where else than in the small house at the foot of the hill could one find such diversity of gifts and all so freely shared? Did the Village Improvement Society need funds and publicity? Mrs. Downs would give a lecture on local history or a subject of current interest, the proceeds to be given to the Society. To encourage the study of Andover flora she gave an annual botany prize to the Punchard Free School. Her profusely illustrated lecture on Westminster Abbey was frequently given on request. Mr. Downs's music pupils at Bradford believed the current rumor that his wife wrote to him every day of the four he spent each

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week in Bradford, and they calculated that some of the letters must have been written before he left home. Did she know that when he could not find a "hack" at the Haverhill "depot" he used to skip over the railroad bridge on the ties, to be on time for his first piano lesson? Probably she knew all about it and had done the same thing, for she had lived in Haverhill herself. Into her duties as a Bradford trustee Mrs. Downs threw all her energy, but the time was all too short. An illness of several months was followed by her death in 1901.

Of the trustees of 1900-1901 Mr. Eldridge Torrey of Boston had been longest on the Board (1881-1904). Mr. Torrey, who was one of the founders of the firm of Torrey, Bright and Capen, was most conscientious in attending trustees' meetings and in giving much of his executive ability to the service of the school.

Beside Mr. Torrey the most active trustees whose decisions were to determine the future of the Academy in 1901 were Rev. Arthur Little, D.D., of Dorchester, president since 1895, Judge Addison Brown, Mr. John L. Hobson of Haverhill, Mr. Elbridge G. Wood of Haverhill, Mr. Samuel Hopkinson of Bradford, treasurer, Mr. Doane Cogswell of Bradford, secretary, and Rev. Charles W. Huntington, D.D., of Lowell, vice president, who is the only one of this group still on the Board at this writing.

Of these gentlemen Judge Brown was doubtless the most conversant with the history of the school. His mother and sister had been students at the Academy, and from his boyhood, when he had been a pupil in Mr. Greenleaf's small "seminary" carried on in the church vestry, he had known the whole story, as his semi-centennial catalogue plainly shows. He graduated from Amherst College in 1849 and from the Harvard Law School in 1852. After his marriage to Mary Chadwick Barrett

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he settled in New York. Following the growth of the Academy through the school life of his niece, Alice Gale (Mrs. Arthur Hobson), he became a trustee in the year of her graduation in 1891, and lived to see her daughter become a Bradford girl of the fourth generation. His death occurred April 9, 1913, at the age of eighty-three.

Bradford girls would doubtless see a tradition in the connection between the Second Congregational Church of Dorchester and Bradford Academy, for after Dr. Means, Dr. Arthur Little was both pastor of that Church and for twenty years president of the Bradford trustees; and now Rev. Vaughan Dabney from the same church is vice president. Dr. Little is best remembered at Bradford for his hearty good humor both on the Commencement Day platform and at the after-dinner speaking. Some of us can remember his skill in handling the awkward situation caused by the non-appearance of a Commencement speaker. He wittily entertained the audience, marking time for five or ten minutes, and then presented the vice president of the Board, Prof. John W. Platner, who was more than equal to the occasion.

It is perhaps best to mention here not only those trustees whose terms began about this time, but also those appointed later. In 1904 Prof. George Herbert Palmer consented to take up the duties of trustee in the place of his wife whose relations with the Academy will be recorded in the next chapter. His great desire for the school has been that it should occupy a leading position as a preparatory school comparable to the great academies for boys at Andover and Exeter. Although his judgment on that matter has not prevailed, he has done great service by wise counsel to the school which his father served as a trustee, where his wife gave so generously of her gracious influence, and where his brother, Rev. Frederic

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Palmer, gave for four years the most inspiring instruction in Bible. Of Professor Palmer's many talks and lectures at the school we can mention only one, the last. At the Commencement of 1924 after a stirring address by President Ada L. Comstock of Radcliffe College on the joy gained by the conquest of difficulties in education, Professor Palmer gave, as a kind of valedictory closing his trusteeship, a short talk about Mrs. Palmer's own triumph over hardships and the help she was able to give to the girls of the next generation.

The following is the list of the trustees in the order of appointment since 1901 :

Lewis Kennedy Morse, Boston	1902-1918	Treasurer
Herbert J. Brown, Portland	1902-1918	
Mabel Hill, Lowell	1902-1907	Alumnae Trustee
George Herbert Palmer, LL.D., Cambridge	1904-1924	Honorary Trustee
Mary Louise Arnold, Boston	1904-1914	
John Wells Morss, Boston	1905-1917	
Rev. John W. Platner, D.D., Cambridge	1907-1911	
Kate Anderson Ellsworth, Quincy	1908-	Alumnae Trustee
Herbert Warren Mason, Boston	1908-1923	Secretary and Treasurer
Rev. Raymond Calkins, D.D., Cambridge	1912-	President, 1915-
Caroline Sperry Allen, Winchester	1912-1913	
Mary Barstow Ward, Newton	1913-1917	Alumnae Trustee
James S. Allen, Winchester	1914-	
Florence Cushing, Boston	1915-1927	
Caroline L. Humphrey, Boston	1915-1923	
Agnes Smith Stackpole, Milton	1918-	Alumnae Trustee
Ransom Pingree, Boston	1919-	Secretary and Treasurer
Arthur L. Hobson, Haverhill	1919-	
Rev. Percy G. Kammerer, Boston	1921-1923	
William D. Parkinson, Fitchburg	1922-	
Helen Smiley Gilman, Haverhill	1923-	Alumnae Trustee
Anna Longley York, New York City	1924-	

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Harold E. B. Speight, D.D., Dartmouth College	1922-	
Herbert Vincent Neal, Ph.D., Tufts College	1924-	
Rev. Vaughan Dabney, Dorchester	1926-	
Alice Pearl Clement, Haverhill	1928-	Alumnae Trustee

CHAPTER XVII

THE PRINCIPALSHIP OF LAURA A. KNOTT

1901-1918

IN the spring of 1901 the trustees were greatly in need of guidance in their search for a principal. Their task, however, was less difficult than that of their predecessors in 1875. College trained women were now numerous, but where should they find the one with the ability, enthusiasm, and perseverance to usher in the "New Day" at conservative old Bradford?

It was Dr. Huntington who found the answer to this question. Dr. Huntington's knowledge of the school dated from his marriage to Frances Bliss of the Class of '74, a woman whose character and tastes were such as to give him a profound respect for her Alma Mater. He knew its ancient background of austere piety and of hardships courageously met, and he recognized its peculiar needs at this time. In his Congregational Church was a woman who had been teaching in the Lowell Normal School since it opened in 1897, a woman with the clearness of vision, initiative, and sterling character which Bradford needed.

Laura Anna Knott was born in Bloomington, Minn., August 13, 1863, the eldest of four children of Edward William Knott and Tabitha Little. Her father was Canadian by birth; her mother a Pennsylvanian of a family of judges, legislators, and business men, all Scotch Presbyterians, or Methodists. Tabitha Little's father, having met with losses, migrated from Pennsylvania to Minnesota but he died within a year, leaving his wife and seven children, only two of whom were old enough to be self-supporting. That mother's abiding faith in the goodness of God, the religion she taught her children, was the fun-

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damental inheritance of that family. Much of the burden of those pioneer days fell upon Tabitha who began teaching at an early age. "Like mother, like daughter" — and so it was in the next generation. "If I took to my Bradford task any special moral and spiritual power," Miss Knott writes, "it came to me from a long line of God-worshipping ancestors, but above all else from my remarkable mother." Here, then, is the explanation of the two dominant factors which determined the quality of Miss Knott's work at Bradford: her pioneer spirit which found no task too difficult, and her supreme aim as an educator, the building of Christian character. Dr. Calkins said in his historical address at the great anniversary in June, 1928, "Bradford Academy, up to 1901, had given richly to the West in the lives of hundreds of girls who came here for training; the West paid its debt when it gave Miss Knott to Bradford in its time of need."

At Hamelin University in St. Paul Miss Knott spent her college years, sometimes staying out for a time to teach, then returning to extra study, making up her work and keeping up with her class, just as Alice Freeman had done at the University of Michigan. The most stimulating intellectual influence of her college course came from Professor Batchelder in the department of Natural Science whom Miss Knott calls the best teacher she ever had. "When I became a teacher myself," she says, "he was my model. Two things which he did I made up my mind I would do if possible; I would make my students love whatever subject I taught them, and I would make them work."

After graduating in 1887 at the head of her class Miss Knott taught three years in a high school near her home, then six years in a Minnesota normal school where her department was English. With characteristic eagerness for increasing her

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educational equipment she came in 1896 to Radcliffe College, where after one year's work she received her degree of Master of Arts. Her course in ethics under Prof. George Herbert Palmer led to an inspiring friendship with his wife, Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer.

The next year the Normal School just opening in Lowell was fortunate enough to secure Miss Knott as the head of its English department, and there she spent three happy years under most favorable conditions: a remarkably fine principal; a young, enthusiastic faculty; a well equipped new building; a student body eager for the best any teacher could give. At the head of the history department was Miss Mabel Hill, a Bradford graduate who became a warm friend. With no executive duties to distract her attention Miss Knott put into practice the ideas she had developed as to classroom opportunities for the best relations with her students. It is not strange that the friendships and other associations formed at that time have now, after thirty years, drawn her back to make her permanent home in Lowell.

Dr. Huntington knew how highly Miss Knott's teaching was regarded at the Normal School, and he felt sure that her energy and ability, guided by her high purposes, would be equal to the Bradford situation. Before suggesting her name to the trustees, however, he called upon Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer and asked her opinion as to Miss Knott's fitness. Mrs. Palmer, who was familiar with the past and present conditions at Bradford, said that she knew of no one better qualified. This endorsement greatly encouraged Miss Knott to give an affirmative answer when the appointment was duly made by the Board. Dr. Huntington also approached Mrs. Palmer to see if she would consider serving on the Board of Trustees. After giving some thought to the matter, she wrote Dr. Hunt-



LAURA A. KNOTT

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ington that she would be willing. What, then, was Dr. Huntington's surprise and chagrin to find that some of the trustees thought that Mrs. Palmer's well-known progressiveness might commit the Board to dangerous policies! Fortunately the doubters were convinced by those who knew Mrs. Palmer well that the school would have much to gain and nothing to fear if she would consent to add its interests to her already long list of responsibilities.

Miss Knott's first year opened September 18, 1901. President McKinley's tragic death on the fourteenth had plunged the nation into grief. His funeral took place on the first day she met the girls in chapel; she therefore had the trying experience of combining an appropriate observance of the nation's loss with her opening exercises. She found seventy-five students, of whom fifty-nine were newcomers. Of the eighteen seniors ten were new. A larger proportion of teachers, however, remained from the previous administration, but at the end of the year Miss Jameson closed her thirteen years of service and joined Miss Abby Southerland who left Bradford to become principal of the Ogontz School for Girls. Fräulein Eva S. Kammer, already mentioned as the president of the Class of 1900, returned to teach German after a year's study abroad. The new member of the faculty most heartily welcomed by the girls was the teacher of "physical culture," Miss Belle Wetherbee, who lived at the Academy and gave full time to the department. At Bradford as elsewhere, for some reason peculiar to the older "female education," elocution and gymnastics had long been taught by the same person. If that teacher were a Miss Ireson, students received more than part-time attention, but the arrangement gave only a limited amount of those dumb-bell and wand-drill exercises designed for the "weaker sex," and no supervision of sports. The en-

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thusiasm for athletics which burst out when Miss Wetherbee, a graduate of the Boston School of Gymnastics, began her duties, clearly showed the inadequacy of the old gymnasium in the west wing.

Early in October the students gave a reception for Miss Knott, and two weeks later the trustees did the same on a much larger scale. All the élite of Haverhill and Bradford, friends from Boston and Lowell, and representatives of other schools gathered in honor of the new principal. On the previous day the girls, guided by Miss Andrews, had brought from the woods autumn foliage and ground pine which they lavished over the reception room, the stairways, and the gallery railing of the chapel. The *Gazette* spoke rapturously of the yellow beech, the chrysanthemums, and the Jacqueminot roses. Dr. and Mrs. Little, Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, Judge Brown, Dr. and Mrs. Huntington received with Miss Knott, and the seniors acted as ushers. (How long were the trains and how tight were the chokers of those afternoon gowns, does anyone remember?) Then came the real meaning of it all. When guests and students were seated in the chapel, Dr. Little made one of his inimitably happy speeches, so friendly in his appreciation of Miss Knott's qualifications for her position, and so warm in pledging her the trustees' support, that the formal event became a veritable housewarming. Miss Knott's own address was a clear statement of her educational creed. The four aims which she defined—scholarship, health, culture, and character—may now in retrospect be used as headings of a summary of her relationship with Bradford trustees, teachers, and students throughout the seventeen years of her leadership; so truly did she live the creed she stated at the beginning. Mrs. Palmer's brief speech, following Miss Knott's, may not have contained anything new, but her vivid personality, her en-

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thusiasm for the school she had so recently adopted, gave a tone of intimacy to her talk. Bradford life, she said, like Wellesley's, might fittingly adopt for its motto, "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

It seems incredible to us now that the only school song which could be appropriately sung by the students at the close of the program was an adaptation of *Fair Harvard* written by Mr. Thompson, but such was the case. Bradford without a school song! "Parting Hymns" had been written and sung at Anniversary in the old days. Graduates had joined at alumnae meetings in Mrs. Downs's *Auld Lang Syne*:

As youthful hopes and joys depart,
And swift life's days decline,
Still close and closer clings the heart
To days of auld land syne.

But that was not the Bradford of the present. The first popular Bradford song was written by Madalene Cooney (Mrs. Stuart Hemingway) during the fall trip to the White Mountains in 1902:

How we love our dear old Bradford, with its ivy-covered walls,
And the joy that ever echoes through its stately, dear old halls,
Where the hours of play and pleasure roll by on the wings of fun;
But when exams. assail us, 'tis then that we want to run.

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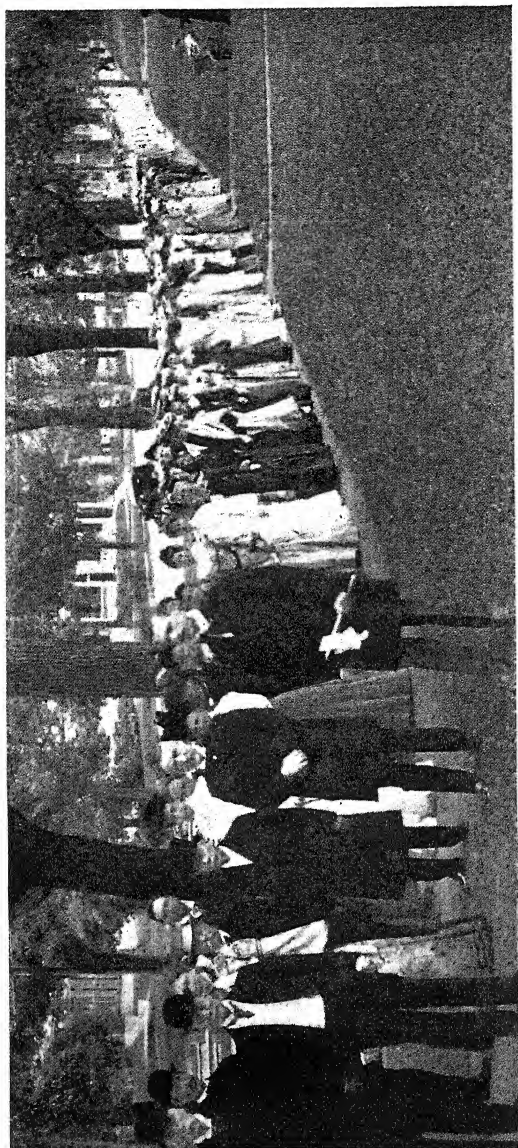
We know that we have our critics in quaint old Bradford town;
When we eat our sweets in public, how darkly do they frown;
But we hope, when they see us coming, our smiles they'll be glad to see,
For of all schools in the country, BRADFORD's the place for me.

Mrs. Palmer, with frequent suggestion and encouragement, was, of course, Miss Knott's strongest ally during that first year. Whenever she came to Bradford Miss Knott asked her to speak informally to the girls, that they might feel the impact of her vibrant personality. Soon after the Christmas va-

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cation — just the time when winter at school looks endless — an event of double interest was planned. Miss Knott asked Mrs. Palmer to address the girls and friends of the school whom she proposed to invite. This was to be followed by a formal reception, and the students, as well as the faculty, were to invite their friends. The engraved invitations bore certain magic words, "Dancing, eight-thirty to eleven-thirty"; and thereby hangs the tale of the "incident." Although the seniors had been allowed for two years to invite men to their June dance, some of the trustees were still skeptical about granting such a privilege to the undergraduates. The address and reception were, therefore, to be the main features of that January evening, and the dancing was presumably only an "incident." By that thin wedge did the "Faculty Prom" of later years enter the annual schedule of events. Mrs. Palmer's address was on "Service," a topic vitalized by her inimitable presentation. Judging by the abstract preserved in the *Haverhill Gazette* it was a forceful expression of the creed by which she lived, and by which she still lives, not only in the biography prepared by her husband, but in the schools and colleges, the clubs and societies, she helped to develop. Her death in Paris, December 6, 1902, was an overwhelming loss to thousands. Her brief term as a Bradford trustee had brought new life into the Board; old problems could be solved; new policies could be based not solely on tradition but on the educational needs of the day. She left an enduring influence at Bradford; and it is fitting that her portrait, a copy of that at Wellesley by Abbott Thayer, should hang in the Academy chapel. In the belief that every school and college girl can gain inspiration from the story of her life, Miss Knott each year for a long period gave an address on Mrs. Palmer.

So many practical difficulties confronted the new principal



CENTENNIAL PROCESSION — TRUSTEES AND ALUMNAE, 1903

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at the outset, the wonder is that she could keep her chief objectives clearly before her. With no office and no secretary, she must be registrar, dean, house-mother, principal. Yet she did not lose sight of her main purposes in planning the means to those ends. Almost anything could be done if the students were happy, and the surest way to make them so was to have them fully occupied mentally with academic work and such outside interests as could be opened to them, and to provide plenty of healthful exercise. She organized the school so that the girls should entertain each other at least once a week. Parties given by old girls to new, by new to old, and by every class, developed a "class consciousness" which had of late been slight. A scrapbook record of events kept by Fräulein Kammer shows that nearly every teacher helped to direct entertainments and gave informal lectures on whatever unique experience she could share with the girls. The scrapbook also gives an astonishingly long list of outside speakers, among whom, that first year, were Dr. Lyman Abbot, Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, President Hyde of Bowdoin, President Hazard of Wellesley and Mrs. Ellen Richards of the School of Technology. It did not take long for the girls to find out that Miss Knott understood them, caught their point of view, and that her long hours of work were all for them. Moreover a majority of them felt that since she had come as a stranger when they came, they could do no less than support every enterprise she suggested. Her resourcefulness added to their spirit of coöperation. Did they want a happier Sunday, not haunted by Monday's lessons? They might try the Wellesley plan of a Monday holiday. Did they want to wear men's costumes in their plays? They might submit those questionable garments to her approval.

An account of Miss Knott's constructive program must be

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interrupted here by the story of the Centennial of the school in June, 1903. Although one might have wished for her sake that the inexorable date had been later, we can now see that it was really opportune, for the hundredth birthday more truly marked an era than any other celebration before or since, unless we except the dedication of the present building in 1870. Even before taking up her duties as principal Miss Knott had thoroughly informed herself on the history of the Academy, as was shown by her inaugural address, and she drew inspiration and courage from the story. Her frequent short talks to the students on the great personalities which had made Bradford Academy increased their loyalty. After 1911 an historical sketch always appeared in the annual catalogue.

A committee on the Centennial had been appointed by the trustees the previous year and speakers were engaged, but most of the preparation had to be made at the school. In the spring invitations and a brief program were sent to all former students who could be reached, but since the school had never attempted to keep records of alumnae, the only available list was the short one of the membership in the Alumnae Association and those of the few Bradford Clubs. The frantic appeals for addresses sent out by the chairman of the graduate committee would now, in the well-ordered alumnae office, sound like the ravings of hysteria. About a thousand out of an approximate two thousand names were listed and the press gave considerable assistance. The result was that the attendance was larger than anticipated in spite of cold, wet weather.

To make place for other events the Leonora Concert was given on the Wednesday before Commencement, and the senior dance on Saturday evening. The procession to the Baccalaureate service was colorful, with its elaborate silk gowns, long trains, gay millinery and a few feather boas. No wonder the

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church had to be beautifully decorated as a background! Dr. Everett S. Stackpole, successor of Dr. Kingsbury as pastor of the Bradford church, presided at the service and the preacher was Rev. Edward C. Moore, D.D., of Harvard University. His text was, "‘Is the Seer here?’ They answered, ‘He is, Behold, he is before you.’" Its application to the duty of seeing every opportunity of service, even by the most obscure "seer," was a little hard to follow, or was it the "colorful" audience that distracted attention?

On Monday evening the seniors held a reception which was to have been on the lawn, but the rain drove everybody inside, and nearly demolished the Japanese lanterns which were hung about the front campus.

Tuesday was given to the alumnae. More than twenty classes held reunions, some of them being entertained by their local members, others having class luncheons in the recitation rooms. Miss Abby Johnson's alumnae had special reason for rejoicing, for she came back with them after twenty-eight years of absence. After the reunions an alumnae meeting was held for the special purpose of reporting upon the proposed Centennial Endowment Fund. Although the fund proved to be small, the occasion demonstrated a loyalty which could have been capitalized in dollars and cents if the necessary organization had been perfected. The evening brought a crowded reception, for again the outdoor plans were thwarted by rain.

On Wednesday the Centennial exercises were combined with graduation. Following the academic procession the twenty-two graduates in long white dresses marched between sixteen juniors carrying a daisy chain, which the sophomores had made by twelve hours of work. The address of Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie, then editor of the *Outlook*, dwelt not so much upon

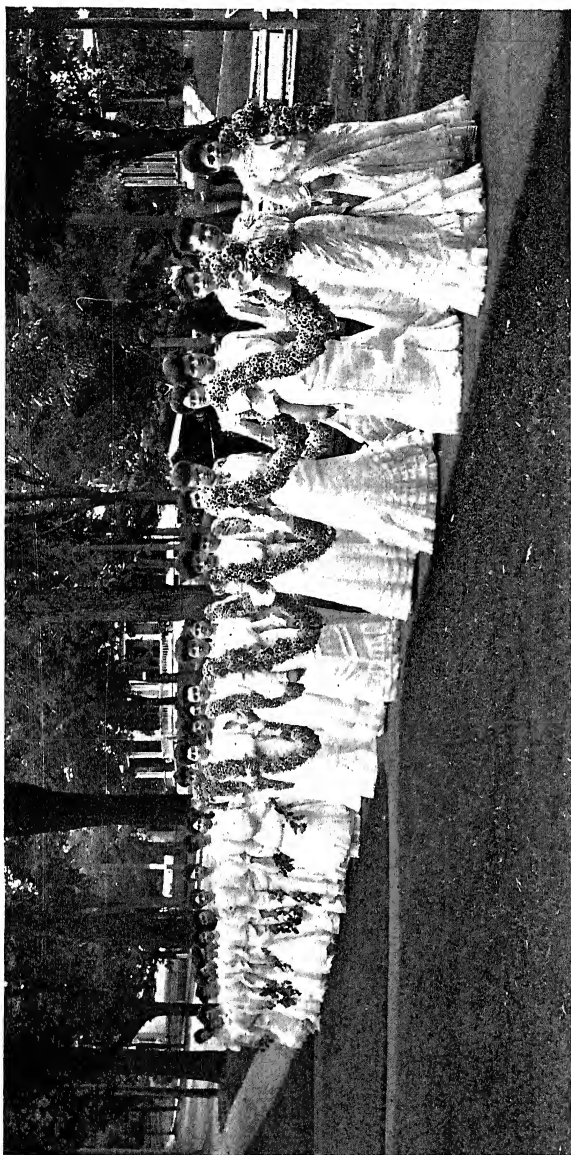
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the history of the Academy as upon the uses of education, enlarging freely upon the four aims Miss Knott had stressed in her inaugural address. In contrast to the old-time anniversary addresses in female seminaries, Dr. Mabie's graceful yet forceful phrases analyzed an education without mentioning any distinctions of sex.

At the luncheon Dr. Huntington was toastmaster. Usually the reports of after-dinner speeches set down in cold type are as stale as scraps from the luncheon table, but it would be hard to find any such speeches more readable today than those made on Bradford's hundredth birthday by Dr. Huntington, Miss Knott, Prof. Henry M. Tyler of Smith College, Judge Addison Brown, Mr. George A. Marden of Lowell, Mrs. Alice Bartlett Stimson ('74), and Mrs. Kate Anderson Wadsworth ('82). The huge tent was damp and cold, but the wit was keen, and hearts were warm with happy memories and high hopes for the future of Bradford Academy.

When it was all over, and Miss Knott had found time to be grateful that centennials came no oftener, she must have felt, along with much weariness, a solid satisfaction in the full tide of loyalty and confidence which had been expressed throughout the celebration. If she ever had any doubts about that, they were forever removed by the great ovation which she received twenty-five years from that day at the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary.

To create a unified impression of Miss Knott's work it is necessary to sacrifice chronology and group events somewhat according to the results of her fourfold program: health, character, scholarship, culture. First, how was the standard of health gradually raised? When Miss Knott came to Bradford she was appalled by the number of applicants who had confessedly broken down in other schools. She said more than



CENTENNIAL PROCESSION — GRADUATING CLASS AND JUNIORS, 1903

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once, "I suppose we cannot issue a circular, 'Bradford Academy is *not* a Sanitarium, nor a School for the Feeble-Minded, nor a Winter Hotel!'" The health certificate was often signed by a kind family physician whose memory was a little defective. Physical examinations after arrival at school had to be given, sometimes with unhappy results. From the standpoint of her own superb health, Miss Knott believed that any girl with a fair start could be healthy and strong. She therefore bent all her energy toward procuring the right conditions. She installed not only the first resident teacher of physical education, but the first trained nurse. She provided a course in hygiene for the younger students and lectures by eminent women physicians for the older ones. She enforced the daily outdoor exercise by asking the teachers to watch the daily record of their "corridor girls." But all this might not awaken the necessary enthusiasm of the students. For that and for building up school spirit organized sports were most important.

With Miss Wetherbee's help the Athletic Association was organized, and outdoor sports increased, while the Swedish system of gymnastics gave the indoor training. Basket-ball, the only available sport for spirited competition, held the center of the athletic stage. In November, 1901, a challenge was sent to Abbot Academy which resulted in a game between the two schools played in the Haverhill Y. M. C. A. gymnasium with a score slightly in favor of Bradford. In the spring the challenge was returned, and the Bradford team went to Andover, winning a decisive victory which set the school aflame. When the team returned the victors found an elaborate dinner arranged in their honor by the Athletic Association. Speeches were demanded from all the members of the team and from every teacher present. Miss Knott saw in the

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event a new school unity, which was bound to spread into other activities.

The greatest need in the physical equipment of the school was a new gymnasium. Wheaton and Abbot had recently added expensive ones. At Bradford there was no money for building, but there was plenty of faith. The new gymnasium, with the heating plant beneath, was opened for use in February, 1904, and the faith was justified by the announcement five years later that it was entirely paid for. A gift of three thousand dollars from the alumnae furnished the showers, dressing-rooms, and lockers.

It was Miss Marjorie Bouvé, Miss Wetherbee's successor, who first taught Bradford girls to play field hockey in 1903-1904. Abbot challenged Bradford, but bad weather prevented the game. The next year Bradford won its first victory from Abbot in its favorite sport. Tournaments in golf, croquet, and tennis were played off at school. In 1909 the tennis cups were first awarded. So "physical culture" changed to "physical training" under Miss Bouvé and Miss Fanny A. Dunsford (Mrs. Raymond Pearson), and Bradford girls were liberal partakers of the great gospel of health. Still Miss Knott was not satisfied. Too many frail girls needed special care. The *Annals* of 1910 tells an anecdote of a sick girl, who, when asked what the matter was, replied, "I dont know, but mother does!" "Mother," presumably, belonged to the generation which assumed that "Daughter" was delicate. Was there no way of making "daughter" forget it? One answer might be "Space for everybody to play games at once."

During her first sabbatical leave in 1908-1909 Miss Knott studied in Oxford and visited many English schools for girls. There she was impressed, as Dr. Calvin Stowe had been fifty years earlier, with the fact that the health of English girls

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was greatly superior to that of American girls. This she attributed largely to their opportunities for outdoor sports throughout the whole year. In her report to the trustees for 1908 she said :

“Every English school has its athletic field large enough for all the students to play games at once. . . . At Bradford the athletic grounds are so limited that not more than one-third of the students can play games at the same time. In England the favorite games are hockey, lacrosse, and cricket ; at Bradford they are tennis, hockey, and basket-ball. Though our students are very fond of tennis, we have so few courts that some girls get up at five o'clock in the morning to use them. Our one hockey field is much smaller than regulation size and in other respects unsatisfactory.”

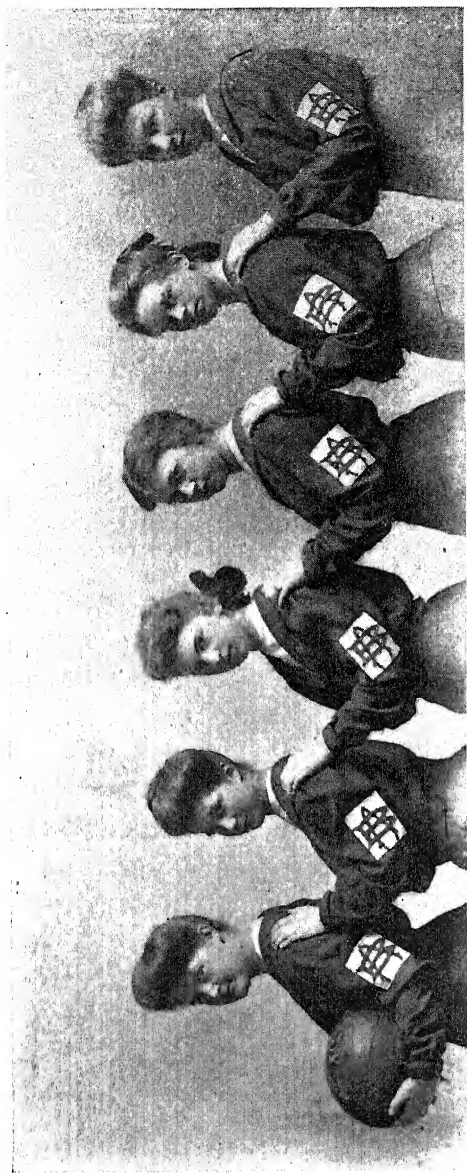
In fact, the first hockey field was in the chestnut grove, with a few of the trees removed ! Miss Knott's watchful eyes discovered that a swamp beyond the Academy grove was reclaimable and for sale. After four years of work upon the swamp and an expenditure of about ten thousand dollars, the new athletic field of twelve acres was first used for the hockey game with Abbot November 11, 1911, which was signaled by a victory for Bradford.

Team work and fair play are the fundamentals of good citizenship, so important in building school morale and individual character. Had the spirit of team play taken sufficient hold upon the girls to enable them to govern themselves in domestic matters ? It was an experiment worth trying even as early as 1902. Many students were evidently qualified, but the secret societies created a difficult situation. In most of the important elections of those first years only a non-society girl could be elected. The “Self-Government Association” found difficulties also in the difference in age of the girls ; rules suit-

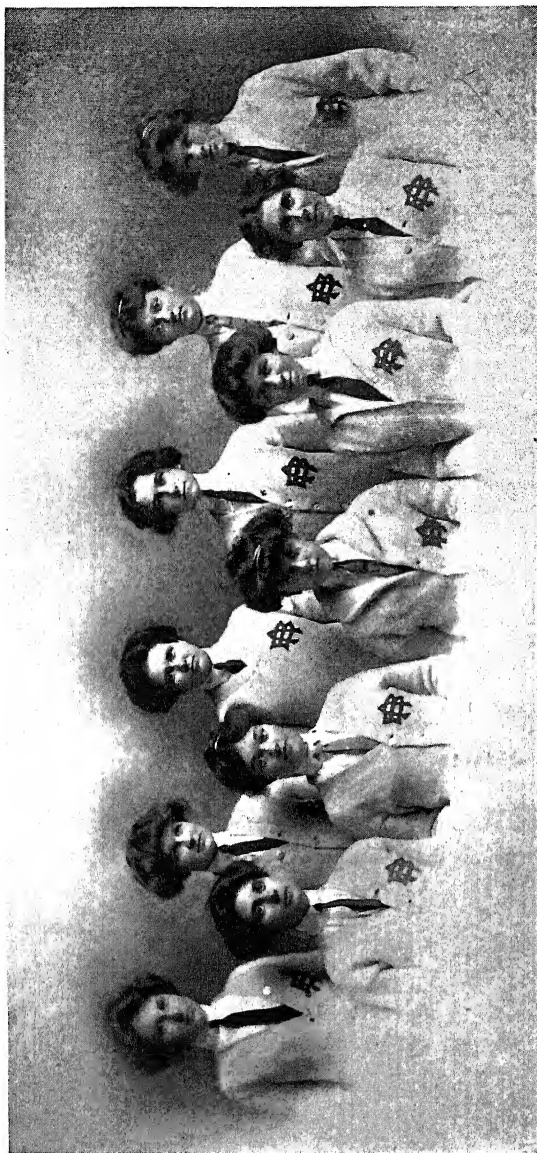
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able for high school graduates were not fitted for girls of fourteen or fifteen years of age. Neither was there that attitude of complete coöperation so necessary for harmonious government. The experiment was given up after five years, but it cannot be regarded as a complete failure, for it trained many a girl in responsibility. For eight years Miss Knott waited for her dream to come true. Secret societies came to an end in 1907-1908, but it was not until 1913-1914, when the students perfected an efficient system of fire drill modeled upon that which saved the lives of Wellesley girls, that she was sure the school was ready for real student government. A majority of the student body was not at first in favor of the change. They were intelligent enough to know that it meant added work and real responsibilities; some frankly admitted that school life would lose much of its spice if there were no faculty rules to evade; others could not imagine that any of their fellow students, by a mere election to office, could be empowered to sit in judgment upon the acts of other students. Mass meetings, discussions in the open and behind closed doors, conferences between faculty and student committees went on for weeks. Then came the final vote April 23, 1914. With the motto, "Obedience to Law is Liberty," Student Government came into existence. Let the writer in the *Annals* of 1914 tell what happened next:

"To the end of our days we shall remember the rollicking pandemonium which broke out all over the building. . . . We cheered and sang till we were hoarse; we raised our officers on our shoulders and marched up-stairs with them; we formed long chains by classes and danced up and down the corridors. The faculty shared our joy and sang and cheered with us. . . . The happy din must have recalled the shades of all Bradford girls of a hundred years ago, and, no doubt, though invisible, they marched and sang with us."



BASKET BALL TEAM, 1904



HOCKEY TEAM, 1911

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The original constitution has, of course, been altered to suit new conditions, but most of the changes have been in the direction of entrusting more responsibility to the students. The anniversary, the "Birthday of Stu-Ge," was celebrated quite seriously for several years to revive enthusiasm and to quicken the social conscience, but, after all, this seemed a rather artificial proceeding, so the day is now marked by a unique dinner when clever stunts of all sorts are performed, with no faculty present.

Important as was the training for good teamwork and school citizenship, it did not reach directly enough toward that ultimate goal — the growth of Christian character which Miss Knott, like Miss Hasseltine and Miss Annie E. Johnson, always had before her. For the moral and religious development of the students, the Christian Union offered an ample field. Unfortunately it had almost died out, but within a year it came to life as an active body, busy with all sorts of philanthropic work. At this juncture the girls responded quickly to local opportunities. A committee took upon itself the visiting of the Old Ladies' Home, thereby receiving as much pleasure as they gave. They were pleased to learn that the ladies preferred to hear glee club songs rather than the hymns which they had gravely offered. The Children's Home, as it was then organized in Haverhill, offered another chance. Giving a good time to boys and girls whose lives looked rather drab was more exciting than calling on old ladies; nevertheless some girls preferred the latter. On December 17, 1901, Bradford girls gave their first Christmas tree party in the old gymnasium for twenty-nine children of the Elizabeth Home of Haverhill, thus establishing a custom which has been interrupted by only two emergencies down to the present time. Though the Home is no more, there are always children to be found. Interest in local

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charities led easily to coöperation with more distant organizations for which Bradford's missionary traditions offered special stimulus. The Academy soon became a sub-chapter of the College Settlement Association and sent delegates to various religious conferences, especially to Northfield and to Silver Bay. The Christian Union was entirely non-sectarian and membership was not dependent upon church membership. The voluntary Sunday evening meetings, led by students, offered ethical and religious topics for discussion, and were frequently addressed by speakers from a distance. It was customary for members voluntarily to sign a pledge to the effect that they set as their personal goal a Christlike character, and that they would support the Christian Union in its various philanthropies. Practically all the students became members.

The most direct way by which Miss Knott hoped to influence the girls was by her talks at the Sunday Vesper service. To these she gave much thought, and her students everywhere today bear testimony to the permanent value of those five o'clock services in the Bradford chapel. Perhaps it was Miss Knott's regret that none of her predecessors had left in print any of the talks of which the alumnae always spoke so warmly; perhaps it was the frequent expression of appreciation by her own girls which led her in 1916, in the midst of all her school cares, to put in book form *Vesper Talks to Girls* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1916), a volume containing fourteen short addresses which have now reached a far wider circle than the Bradford chapel. The book-list of the American Library Association, July, 1916, contained this comment:

"*Vesper Talks to Girls*. . . . They have value chiefly because of the speaker's fine attitude towards life, an attitude

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conservative in some ways, progressive in many, and at once sympathetic, wholesome, stimulating."

Professor Dallas Lore Sharp, after reading the manuscript, wrote Miss Knott: ". . . I think it is bound to have a large and sound appeal. You have done what few have in this form — the most difficult literary style to make compelling to the publishers that I know."

One of Miss Knott's students wrote: "Already your book is one of my choicest possessions. It contains all the inspiration of those Sunday afternoon talks I remember so well. All Bradford girls have been grateful to you for them, though I suppose we rarely express our gratitude in words. Now to have your thoughts in book form will call forth deeper gratitude."

It is safe to assume that among the Talks which had their origin in that first difficult year is one entitled "School Spirit." An application of the subject, perhaps the least obvious to the average student, is as follows:

"It is as an educational institution that a school must stand or fall. If a school is an educational failure, what avails its success in some subordinate thing? No one can take pride in an easy-going school to which anyone can gain admission, and in which anyone can remain, regardless of attainment. Students think that neglect of their studies is a wholly personal matter and believe that only they are the sufferers. It is not so. By slack, indifferent work you are lowering the standard of your school, and you are thus disloyal. By your act you say that you do not care to have your school respected. This shows the lack of a sense of indebtedness on your part to the corporate body of which you are a member. It means a failure to apply school spirit where it is most needed. It is easier to sing and cheer on some moving occasion, but which does your school need more at your hands?"

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Miss Knott's educational program will show what opportunities Bradford offered for scholarship, the *third* of her four aims. The curriculum announced in the catalogue of 1901-1902 made it clear that she proposed to meet the educational situation as it affected young women in two definite ways: first, by providing a two years' course especially adapted to high school graduates who did not wish to enter a four-year college, and at the same time to offer an intensive preparatory training for those who did wish to enter college. These two were partially combined with the general five years' course which remained somewhat as it had been carried on previously. The first two years of the general and college preparatory courses were practically identical, the subjects and amount covered being determined by college requirements. The third year of the general course was not duplicated, but college preparatory students recited in modern language classes and in geometry with the "generals." The junior and senior work of the general course and the two years of high school graduates were practically identical, except for more freedom for the latter in electives. This combining of students of different courses in the same classes was unavoidable because of the small number of the faculty. In 1902-1903 one hundred and forty students were taught by ten teachers, not counting instructors in physical training, music, and art.

As to particular subjects, it may be interesting to note that "Moral Science" was now called "Ethics" and "Mental Science" had become "Psychology." "Natural Theology and Christian Evidences" and logic are gone. A short course in church history remained in the senior year while political economy and sociology at last appeared, first as elective and later required. Bible study was required of all students. More English was added in the first two years, but the short science

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courses, all of them taught by Miss Andrews, kept their place. For a part of the year she was teaching four-hour courses in chemistry, botany, astronomy, and physiology, and a weekly class in Bible. These brief science courses with comparatively little laboratory work seem to have served as "eye-openers," like the modern orientation courses, but they were not so well coördinated. Judge Brown, a member of the committee on revision of the curriculum, deplored the ignorance of women on modern science, and would therefore have preferred a large preponderance of science over literature which to him was "a mere pastime." Grammar, according to his judgment, was the only feature of an English course beside rhetoric which required real study. True to his devotion to science he gave a generous sum for the equipment of the chemical laboratory as he had earlier done for the study of botany.

One may summarize the development of the curriculum during the seventeen years of Miss Knott's administration somewhat as follows:

1. It should first be said that Miss Knott never allowed her executive duties to crowd out her teaching of English, ethics, and later the Bible, a total of more hours than a principal usually can carry — if he or she teaches at all.

2. The college preparatory course which sent its first four students to college in 1903 never, up to 1918, included more than twenty-five per cent of the student body; but it increased, by the success of its graduates in the leading women's colleges, Bradford's reputation for academic and executive training. To encourage the students of this department, the College Club was organized which offered some good times — too few of them — for the hard working "Preps."

3. The course of two years for high school graduates flourished till about forty per cent of the total number of students

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in any one year were enrolled in that course. Here is the nucleus of the Junior College of a later decade. Household economics was added to the curriculum in 1905 and the courses in English and history were increased in number.

4. The number of graduates increased from seventeen in 1902 till the maximum of forty-four was reached in 1917. By this time the "Specials," so numerous in the nineties, were practically eliminated. After 1905 no girls graduated after less than two years of residence.

In 1915 the trustees asked Prof. Paul H. Hanus, head of the Department of Education at Harvard University, to examine the school. He did so and reported favorably, stressing the spirit of the school in these words: "Stability, simple dignity, serious purpose, and cheerful activity are characteristic of the school throughout," and more to the same effect. As a concession to the tendency to make Latin and mathematics elective, he advised another general course of that nature. This was formed and since the course seemed easier than the old one of five years it was laid out for six years. Few students entered this course which was in effect for only a short time.

As desirable applicants increased in number a housing problem presented itself. The dormitory accommodated comfortably eight or nine teachers and one hundred and fifteen to one hundred and twenty students, two girls now occupying the suites originally designed for four. In 1907 students were placed in nearby houses and received into the dormitory as vacancies occurred. This expedient grew into a cottage plan by which twenty-five or thirty girls were housed in neighboring apartments. The climax of this arrangement was reached, when, during the widespread epidemic of infantile paralysis of 1916, it seemed so probable that many students would fail to appear in September, that many more applicants were ac-

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cepted than could be accommodated. When school opened not a single girl withdrew, so another house was procured and a housemother installed for the whole year. This bit of history repeated itself in September, 1927, when both old and new students again showed their confidence in Bradford's ability to cope with the dangers of an epidemic.

It is self-evident that the raising of the standards of scholarship and general morale depends to a large extent upon the faculty. In choosing teachers Miss Knott seldom made a mistake. Sometimes she could not hold a desirable one because of inadequate salary, and some of them *would* marry. It was not an easy life to which she invited them. Until the fall of 1909 every teacher in the building had special care over from six to sixteen girls every day and night in the week. Relationships were usually of the pleasantest, punctuated occasionally by sleepwalking and hysteria, not to mention bats and mice. Hard at work on tomorrow's lecture on the transmission of light, the teacher hears a knock. "Please, Miss A., our gas lamp is broken and we can't study!" Of course Miss A. knows how to attach the delicate Welsbach mantle, for does not her own break on less provocation than a tussle between room-mates? So she repairs the damage and gives a private demonstration of the transmission of light not mentioned in the *Physics* textbook.

A teacher could bear petty annoyances well enough and prepare her academic work after the house was quiet, if her own health were normal. This Miss Knott determined to secure. She often asked, "Are you giving yourself frequent enough changes out of school atmosphere?" "Are you keeping yourself physically fit?" "Are you meeting enough people outside of school?" Toward the latter part of her administration she succeeded in establishing, with the consent of the trustees,

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the principle of sabbatical leave and she gained for dormitory teachers the right to live out of the building once in four years.

Before mentioning individual teachers it must be shown how their life was made easier after 1909. To free herself and them from many trivial details, and to give the students the guidance in a thousand personal and cultural matters help had to be found. When anything *must* be found, Miss Knott generally discovered it. Once more it was the right person in the right place — Mrs. Mabel Snow Worcester as housemother! She came in September, 1909. In a few weeks everybody wondered how the school had existed without her. With tact, resourcefulness, and a ready humor which smoothed out many a problem, she shouldered more and more duties. Of her it might have been said, "To her that hath [many responsibilities] more shall be given." For eight years she matched and re-matched roommates, made good citizens out of untidy housekeepers and careless borrowers, advised on every subject from cash accounts to personal religion, explained school regulations to distant relatives, acted as school hostess forever on duty — but the list is endless — and all with a wisdom and affection which her girls well remember. When she was called to the far larger responsibilities of the Franklin Square House in Boston, Bradford had to give her up, and wondered if there were another. Again it took Miss Knott's skill to find her successor, and having found her, to induce her to adopt Bradford Academy. For the following years Bradford girls have been saying, and with good reason, "I simply can't imagine Bradford without 'Mother Knowlton.'" To her exacting and multifold duties Mrs. Inez H. Knowlton brought the qualities of mind and character which have ennobled her office and have contributed, beyond the power of anyone to measure, a gra-



ASSEMBLY HALL, 1906

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ciousness to the Academy's social relations and an enrichment to the lives of hundreds of girls.

More than fifty teachers were associated with Miss Knott at Bradford. The limitations of this history naturally forbid the mention of only those whose terms were of considerable length, but names will recall other names to alumnae readers, who will also fill out these rather formal statements with anecdotes of the long ago and the "not so long." Some may remember a silhouette drawing in the *Annals* of 1906 of the faculty seated at the back of the platform behind the principal. Not long after that the faculty modestly withdrew to the rear of the chapel.

At the head of the long service list stands Mr. Samuel Morse Downs, already frequently mentioned. He disliked the title of "Professor," but was too courteous to protest often against its use. Mr. Downs was born in 1836 in Ayers Village, Mass. His schooling was negligible, but he had at his command as large a fund of information as his talented wife. He began to study music when he was scarcely old enough to sit at the piano. At the Old South and Park Street Churches in Boston he won an enviable reputation as composer and organist. His work showed the influence of Lowell Mason, and his best compositions were written for religious occasions. He began to teach at Abbot Academy in 1860 and continued there till 1907; at Bradford, from 1869 to 1908. For both schools he composed chants for Commencement Days, and anthems for the girls to sing. The origin of the "Leonora" and "Fidelio" Societies has already been noted, but just when he began to play his *Senior March* no one knows. His slight figure and quick step, his ready wit and sensitive response—who can forget them? One would not guess that he could "down" Dr. von Mach in a political argument, yet he often worsted his

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mighty opponent, though he forgot to eat his lunch. Those who never saw him have but to look at the portrait painted by his friend Albert Felix Schmidt, and see him at the piano, turning toward the chorus, about to say, "*Ready! Sing!*" The presentation of the picture given by his pupils after he resigned gave him some happiness in those lonely years after his wife's death. He wrote in regard to it: "It seems like a dream that this honor should come to me, and I feel most unworthy to join the distinguished men and women whose pictures adorn those walls. . . . They were all, with two exceptions, my friends or acquaintances."

It is not strange that after the resignation of Mr. Downs the music department had an interval of relaxation; he had reigned so long it seemed as if his very spirit would still carry on his vigorous work. When Mr. Frederick H. Johnson came to teach piano in 1912, and especially when he first took charge of the choral work in 1916, a new era in music began at Bradford. The cumulative success of Mr. Johnson as the head of the department and of Miss Marie Nichols, teacher of the violin and builder of the school orchestra, will better be summarized in a later chapter.

Another teacher whom Miss Knott found at Bradford was Miss Eliza E. Andrews, for whose teaching Judge Brown fitted up the botanical laboratory. From 1893 till 1913 Miss Andrews introduced Bradford girls not only to textbooks of science, but even more delightfully to the birds and flowers of Bradford fields, swamps, and woods. The valuable collection of birds given in memory of Agatha Pickhardt by her friend Louise Waterman (Mrs. Carl Pickhardt), is also a memorial of the teaching of Miss Andrews. At her home in Mountain Dale, N. Y., she is always eager to hear Bradford news.

The work of Fräulein Eva S. Kammer (Mrs. William S.

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Howe) in the German department, 1901-1907, was notable for the keen interest she roused in her subject by such plays as *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Hansel and Gretel*, and other entertainments which she trained her classes to give the school. She was also the enthusiastic guide upon the annual trips to Salem, Plymouth, and other historical spots. The *Annals* preserves an anecdote of a German class which Fräulein Kammer must have enjoyed:

Fräulein: "Mary, decline 'a bad man.'"

Mary, thoughtfully: "Yes, that would be the proper thing to do."

One exception must be made to the rule of mentioning only teachers with many years to their credit. Caroline Sperry came in the fall of 1902 fresh from Vassar College where she had been student president. Her rare social gifts, which had some of the qualities of Mrs. Palmer's, made a lasting impression on the school. She was obliged to give up teaching in 1907, but after her marriage to Mr. James S. Allen of Winchester she became a trustee of the Academy. Mrs. Allen's sudden death in 1912, like that of Mrs. Palmer, robbed the school of a greatly valued friend.

In the fall of 1902 Miss Jean S. Pond returned to the Academy from which she had graduated in 1885, to teach English, psychology and, at times, other subjects. It has been her privilege to know so many Bradford girls and to be associated with so many colleagues that she finds for her present task as historian an embarrassment of riches. Realizing that a close view prevents a true perspective, she knows that her account of these later years can have value only as a basis for a later study, when time shall have winnowed out the less important and brought to light the permanent values.

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Monsieur Jules Lebet began his teaching of French at the Academy in the fall of 1903 and continued through 1925. With inexhaustible energy and lively humor he taught his students not only the French language and literature but much upon a great variety of human interests.

Edmund von Mach, Ph.D., for thirteen years (1902-1916) taught the history and appreciation of art to the seniors. The Warren Art Fund allowed the purchase of a large collection of pictures and lantern slides, and the third-floor corridor of the east wing provided a gallery for the exhibition of illustrative material. Dr. von Mach was at his best in Greek Art. His portrayal of the Panathenaic Procession was not merely a description of sculpture but of a religious rite in honor of a virgin goddess, no less devout than the worship of the Virgin Mary at Mont St. Michel or Chartres. At the outbreak of the Great War Dr. von Mach threw his efforts into a defense of his native land, and was involved in propaganda stories, now known to be greatly exaggerated. He resigned his post at Bradford and spent himself for the German cause till his health broke. He died in 1927 in Bangor, Maine.

From 1916 to 1920 the history of art course was ably carried on by Miss Leila North, along with one in practical sociology.

The department of history and government came, in the fall of 1909, into the hands of Ellen Scott Davison, Ph.D., in whose work true scholarship and teaching power were happily combined. Miss Davison was acting principal in 1914-1915 during Miss Knott's second leave of absence. Her scholarly book, *The Footsteps of St. Francis*, was edited after her death in 1921 by Miss Gertrude Richards, another teacher in the Academy. Associated with Miss Davison was Miss Florence Waterman (1912-1919), teacher of Greek and Latin. Miss



CAROLINE SPERRY ALLEN

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Waterman and other teachers of the college preparatory students, for whom school life offered far more work than play, directed for a few years the dramatization of various classical themes some of which were presented in the grove as a spring festival. One of the most ambitious of these was the *Orfeo*, a fifteenth-century lyrical drama by Politian, given with some of the original music. The Preparatory Class of 1914 also gave a very satisfactory rendering of Milton's *Comus*. These pleasant diversions from scheduled study had to be given up in 1919 when the colleges began to require entrance examinations of all candidates.

For a time Miss Davison, Miss Waterman, and Miss Pond formed, at the suggestion of the trustees, a committee to relieve Miss Knott of details. It was at this time on a hot day in May, when the girls had been celebrating Field Day, that most of them jumped into Tupelo Lake to cool off. The next day Miss Knott announced that the rules about swimming in Tupelo would soon be published by Miss Waterman, Miss Pond, and Miss Lake! Needless to say no rules were necessary.

In the fall of 1912 Miss Florence E. Paine came to teach mathematics, and Miss Harriet C. Sleight began her work in expression and the training of the girls for the presentation of their class plays, for which the enthusiasm grew from year to year. Many will remember the wonderful productions of the Shakespearean comedies, Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Percy MacKaye's *A Thousand Years Ago*, Alfred Noyes's *Sherwood* and many others. For the senior plays in the winter the chapel was transformed into a theatre, while the juniors staged their plays in the grove unless an unlucky rain forced them indoors. There was a happy spontaneity about these productions which the audience missed a little after 1920, when the fine new stage in

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the gymnasium created a more professional atmosphere.

It seems almost superfluous to mention events and features of Bradford life outside of the scheduled studies which had *Culture*, the fourth of Miss Knott's aims, for their definite purpose. Yet if her students were asked to name some of the outstanding events and persons who had broadened their outlook, roused a fine emotion, given them a new sense of beauty, they would mention many persons whom the principal brought to them for those very purposes. Some of those names would be Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, Booker T. Washington (whose daughter Portia graduated in 1905), Jacob Riis, Prof. Bliss Perry, Dr. Raymond Fosdick, Ruth McEnery Stuart, Beatrice Herford, Margaret Deland, Kate Douglas Wiggin, George W. Cable, Josephine Preston Peabody, Amy Lowell, Robert Frost. They would mention Mrs. Gardner's palace-museum, symphony concerts, and grand opera; they would recall the Kneisel Quartet, the Flonzaleys, the recitals of Mr. Frederick Johnson and of Miss Marie Nichols.

Even deeper than all these, perhaps, are the memories of the immemorial willow, where the flickers make their home, of the wood thrushes in the grove, of the white spire of the church catching the sunset glow. But let a student tell it in a little poem written in imitation of Rupert Brooke:

These We Have Loved;¹

Brilliantly colored leaves, fast falling
On Lake Tupelo; the grove in fall;
The rain on leaves in springtime; the kindly call
Of friends across the court; the Corn Roast
And the rows of white clad Seniors, and most
Of all, their singing breaking the still night;
And the nights themselves, the glory of moonlight;
The whispered thrill of Tree Night and the Senior Play;

.

¹ *The Quill*, 1929, vol. 8, no. 4. Poem by Jane Kluckhohn.

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The lighted doorway, seen from dark confines
Beyond; and in the evening as we go
From Chapel, music low and slow. . . .
All these and countless others we have loved.

Even the exterior of the building, once so austere, had gradually acquired some grace. Ivy, shrubbery, and trees had softened its stern lines. After 1916 students were welcomed on a new front porch, much more adequate than its small vine-draped predecessor. Attractive new walks were laid out on the front campus, and the rose garden flourished around the fountain. Within, one could see additions to the comfort and convenience of the household, most of them class gifts, a list of which is far too long for complete enumeration. Making over the three separate parlors on the second floor into the present spacious arrangement was due to the girls of '05 and the other classes of that time. Some of the other noticeable gifts are the mail boxes ('07), the electric lighting of chapel and dining room ('10), the chapel platform furniture ('11), the electric clock and bells ('12), the mail chute ('13), the mahogany settees in the front hall ('14). At the last morning chapel in June Miss Knott read a list of the gifts from the various classes and other friends received during the year. The largest sum of money other than the Warren gifts received at this time was a bequest in 1915 of five thousand dollars from Mr. George Hazeltine, LL.D., of New York. Mr. Hazeltine, who was a native of Bradford, had a most interesting career as a patent lawyer, having gained an international reputation by practice in England and on the continent.

Class gifts are now-a-days almost universal in schools and colleges, but of some customs peculiar to Bradford Academy it may be of interest to know the beginnings.

The night before the Christmas vacation in 1902, when ev-

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everybody was happy over the coming holidays, the seniors gathered on the west stairway above the first floor and the juniors on the opposite side. Spontaneously they began to sing popular songs, and nobody wanted to stop. At the end of the next term there were more songs to sing, some of them being kept secret till that evening. Thus came the "Singing on the Stairs."

One spring evening the Class of 1906 stole out to the back campus, and were heard singing around the beautiful maple tree at the fork of the path. Later they placed their class emblem upon it, adopting it as their tree. Succeeding classes embroidered this custom with lanterns and a Class Day ceremony. When nearly all the best trees had been appropriated, a copper-beech was planted by the Class of 1921, and now the campus is not likely to lack ornamental trees.

For several years it was a pleasant custom of the seniors to spend one of their last week-ends at Marblehead or at Miss Knott's hospitable cottage at Rockport. When the Great War taught everyone to conserve time and money that more might be given to refugees, Red Cross work, and the "Y," such bits of extravagance were omitted. During those years many extras were voluntarily sacrificed. Miss Ruth Baker, the teacher of German, was chairman of the Red Cross activities and the brown parlor hummed with sewing machines. The school treasures a large Red Cross banner hung in the dining room during a "drive," on which every member of the school placed a tiny cross for each one of her immediate family in the service. Happily these things did not become "traditions."

One of the many school activities which Miss Knott helped to set in motion was the publication of a class book by the seniors. Not since the rude blowing out of the *Bradford Lantern* in 1888 had a school publication been seriously attempt-

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ed until the Class of 1903 brought out *The Chimes*, a title which was abandoned the next year for *The Bradford Annals*. The present historian here records her indebtedness to its editors not only for serious data but for the revival of many a forgotten jest. What Bradford girl does not find amusement in turning the pages of successive *Annals*, following the coiffure in its retrogression from the highest pompadour to the sleekest "bob," in watching the tide of skirts rise from train length to knee brevity. The custom of wearing "P. T.'s" for class pictures lessens the value of the books as style shows, and class songs mean little without the ringing voices, but the pictures, the class histories, even the old jokes would make a history by themselves. Echoes of classrooms and examinations can frequently be heard. Bible classes furnished the most material. In 1909 we read, "Jacob and Aesop were the sons of Joseph; Aesop sold his birthright for a mess of potash."

The ethics class always opened new fields for discussion. The 1907 *Annals* published some rhymes entitled "Ethical Illustrations" with appropriate "line drawings." Here are some samples:

This is a merry Hedonist:

He's always bright and gay.

He says, "Tomorrow I may die,

So I'll fill up today!"

Here is a son who gave up school,

To be his mother's joy,

That was unworthy sacrifice;

He was a foolish boy.

Here is a nice contented pig,

Would you like to be like him? NEVER!

Better by far be what you are,

Unsatisfied forever!

And is there not something perennial about this?

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She failed in Browning, flunked her Psych.

We heard her fiercely hiss,

"I'd like to meet the man who said

That ignorance was bliss!"

In bringing to a close this record of Bradford, 1901-1918, we come back to the central figure of the story; she has been there all the time, planning and working for the girls she loved, but literally wearing herself out in their service. She never could resist a call to be of use to girls. For a time she was president of the Haverhill Y. W. C. A., and she was the first promoter of the Haverhill Girls' Club. If the girls of Denison House in Boston wanted to give a play to raise money they might present it at Bradford. She had always been actively interested in suffrage for women and in any other forward trend for their betterment. She was a charter member of the Women's City Club of Haverhill.

Even in her college days she had not given herself sufficient playtime, and as her responsibilities grew, she banked too confidently on the reserve strength which she had inherited. Her two sabbatical absences, neither of them a full year, she spent mostly in study, the kind of change she craved. After the publication of *Vesper Talks to Girls*, she began to prepare her textbook on the Old Testament, which she finished after she retired.

The time came when rest and freedom became imperative. She had hoped that the school would be able to build a house for its principal, but the funds were lacking and wartime costs too precarious. In her last annual report to the trustees she begged them to safeguard the health of future principals by allowing them a home outside the dormitory.

When her resignation became known the letters which poured in from hundreds of alumnae expressed their indebt-

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edness and their love. No less significant were the gifts for the new home where all hoped that health might return. The graduating class, as their gift to the school, started a fund which resulted four years later in the portrait of Miss Knott which now hangs in the chapel by the side of Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer.

At the Commencement exercises Miss Knott made a short address reviewing her administration. Her closing words are most significant of her great contribution to Bradford Academy.

"How insignificant is the life of an individual compared with that of an institution which goes on generation after generation, perhaps century after century, always changing yet ever the same! And because we are so small and it is so large, I know of nothing that gives so much enduring satisfaction as to merge one's life in that of a worthy institution and to feel that one has contributed in some degree to its upbuilding.

"'According to the grace of God which was given unto me,' says St. Paul, 'as a wise master builder, I laid a foundation and another buildeth thereon. But let each man take heed how he buildeth thereon. If any man build on the foundation gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay, stubble, each man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it is revealed in fire; and the fire itself shall prove each man's work.'

"No truer words were ever spoken. Only good work shall endure. It is my hope that some foundations have been laid during these seventeen years, not of hay, or of stubble, or even of wood, but of gold and silver and costly stones."

CHAPTER XVIII

JUNIOR COLLEGE AND PREPARATORY SCHOOL

1918-1928

THIS narrative is making no attempt at educational criticism. It may be the duty of another historian to evaluate the ways in which the Bradford curriculum has tried to meet some of the changing needs of a limited number of American girls in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Here it remains only to summarize the developments of the last decade on the educational side and to indicate some of the more immediate results; also to sketch, in outline, life at Bradford at the rounding out of another quarter-century.

Miss Marion Coats, who was appointed in the spring of 1918 to succeed Miss Knott as principal, had graduated at Vassar College in 1907, and had done some teaching before taking her Master's degree at Radcliffe, where, for further study, she held the Alice Freeman Palmer Fellowship. While principal of Ferry Hall, at Forest Hills, Ill., she had organized that school for girls as a junior college. She brought to her new position at Bradford first-hand knowledge of the complex problems in the education of women, a large acquaintance among educators, a most resourceful mind, and great personal charm.

It has happened more than once at Bradford Academy that a new principal has been forced at the very beginning of her administration to meet a totally unexpected emergency. Everyone remembers how in September, 1918, the influenza, like one of the ancient plagues, spread over the country. Many schools did not open for months; others broke up entirely for



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weeks. Bradford opened with a full quota of students, but, of course, it was not exempt from the dreaded invasion. For about one month activities were somewhat curtailed, a quarantine was enforced, and some students went home, but classes met regularly, and the campus was alive with games and sports. Thanks, chiefly, to the untiring services of Dr. Marion C. Littlefield, a graduate of 1904, and to the loyal spirit in which all responded to Miss Coats's regulations, the disease was restricted to a small fraction of the community. The quarantine was kept up till after Thanksgiving, hence that festival was kept by the entire Bradford family together and in a unique way. In the forenoon a hockey game between faculty and students was won by the former by virtue of some courtesy from the latter! The dinner was enlivened by "features" planned by Miss Baker, so that no one had time to be homesick. The day closed with moving pictures at the North Church especially planned by Rev. William W. Patton whom the girls were finding a most inspiring preacher and teacher of Bible.

Meantime Armistice Day, which caught up every one in its vortex of excitement, formed another bond of unity, and the whole school worked together to raise a large sum of money for the "United War Work Drive." The usual fall game of hockey with Abbot Academy could not be played, but Abbot invited the whole school to Andover to non-competitive sports and a picnic. This was the beginning of the participation of all the students of both schools in an annual game day.

When Miss Coats turned her attention to the courses of study, she found them complicated and overlapping. The time had come for simplification and more clearly defined purposes. It happened that June, 1919, was the date set by the women's colleges, when, for the first time, all candidates must present themselves for examinations. This fact had already increased

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the number of preparatory students at Bradford and had tightened the pressure upon their work. It was clear, therefore, that more intensive training by a larger faculty would be necessary in this department, and that these girls should live in a part of the building by themselves where they could be protected from interruptions. This plan went into effect the next year. Since the intensive training would be concentrated on the last two or three years of preparation, and since very few girls entered the freshman year, it was decided to omit that year from the curriculum, thus establishing a senior high school course.

The old five years' course had served its day. Started before the high schools had become efficient, it had given to hundreds of Bradford girls a rather broad, if not intensive, survey of many fields. Aside from that, its best feature was its continuity and, provided the teaching was good, the building of a somewhat correlated structure. Its weakest point was the implication of having "finished" something! We have seen how Miss Annie Johnson and Miss Knott hated the idea of a "finishing school." On the other hand, it had become increasingly evident that Miss Knott's course of two years for high school graduates had met the needs of a great many young women. It was also clear that few wished to enter a five year, or even a four year *general* course. Why not, then, give that up, and plan solely for the high school graduates? Prof. Paul Hanus of Harvard was again called in consultation, and the revised curriculum was announced in the catalogue of 1920.

It was feared that during the war, and in the financial fluctuations immediately following it, fewer students would find their way to Bradford and other private schools. The very reverse was true. There were now so many more applicants than could be housed, that Miss Coats urged the trustees to

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increase the dormitory space. The south end of the central wing of the building, formerly occupied by the maids, was opened, and the maids were housed more comfortably in a nearby house. An addition to the gymnasium containing a stage, swimming pool, and music rooms was completed in April, 1920. The old music rooms in the west wing were made into students' rooms, so that twenty more students were accommodated in the building.

Along with these changes in the curriculum and enlargement of the dormitory Miss Coats wished to see in the town of Bradford a school for younger girls who could not now enter the Academy. The large house built by Mr. Laburton Kimball was purchased and Miss Nina Hart became the head of "Junior Bradford." This excellent plan for providing a "feeder" for the Academy was tried for four years, but proved impracticable. In the fall of 1924 the house was converted into a home for the faculty, which had now greatly increased in number. For three years Miss Coats occupied an attractive bungalow near the Academy, thus, for a time, realizing the dream cherished by Miss Knott for a principal's house. When it was no longer possible to lease the bungalow, the trustees fitted up apartments on the first floor of the west wing (the old gymnasium) and there Miss Coats spent the remaining five years of her Bradford life.

The story of costs, doubled and trebled by the depreciation of currency during and after the war, is now familiar enough. People have gradually got used to paying twice as much as formerly for coal and groceries, but it was hard for them at first to realize that schools and colleges, now crowded as never before, also needed a doubling or trebling of income. Bradford had been slow to advance tuition rates and deficits occurred. Added funds were absolutely necessary for the new education-

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al program. At Miss Coats's request the trustees launched a financial campaign in the fall of 1922. After months of work the alumnae were organized all over the country where the groups were large enough to warrant it, and in May the intensive "drive" was staged. Many unexpected things happened; gifts came from persons who had shown no signs of having thought of Bradford for years; non-graduates sometimes outdid graduates in perseverance and in power to separate "prospects" from their dollars. Among the donors were many whose gifts meant the sacrifice of some home comforts. When the excitement died down and a five years' program of extended work was mapped out it was found that approximately \$225,000 was contributed or pledged for the endowment of the Junior College, but that there was no building fund for a new dormitory. The organization of the alumnae, the installation of a permanent alumnae office and an executive secretary were by-products of great value, present and potential.

As the curriculum of Bradford High School and Junior College became better known, it drew more and more applicants. The dormitory space was evenly divided between the two departments, and the number of one-year girls was strictly limited. The Junior College was specifically meeting the demands of students who expressed a wish to enter a college or university with advanced credit, presumably of two years' college value. Yet it came about that only about ten per cent of the students really went on to an advanced college course, and more than half of those who entered upon it did not stay long enough to get a degree. To this consideration were added other facts: first, that increasing numbers of fine girls could not be admitted to the women's colleges because the standards were constantly being raised; second, that those who stay only two years in a major college have not the satisfaction of com-



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THE MARION COATS INFIRMARY

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pleting a unit of work, but have, rather, only the preliminaries of the most valuable part of a collegiate education; third, that many girls having a capacity for leadership and special gifts not strictly academic, need collegiate training without looking toward a degree.

Did not these conditions create an opportunity for a school of recognized seriousness to offer a progressive type of collegiate education for such girls? Miss Coats became more and more convinced that such an experiment could be tried at Bradford Academy with every probability of success. The faculty became enthusiastic upon the subject and came back early in September, 1925, for a conference on the matter. In January a group of educational experts, including the presidents of Vassar, Radcliffe, and Russell Sage Colleges, a representative of the State Board of Education, and the head of the Bureau of Personnel Research, New York, came to confer with a committee of trustees and faculty. A majority of these educators were so sympathetic to the plan outlined by Miss Coats that they advised her to put it in operation the next year. The following April a group of heads of secondary schools came to discuss the "Bradford Program," and most of them were so much in favor of it, they said they would recommend it to many of their students who wanted some form of collegiate work but did not wish to enter a major college.

The main features of the "Bradford Program" which sought to bring progressive education up to the college level were as follows:

1. The student's activities leading to a diploma were grouped in these proportions:

40 per cent academic work.

40 per cent group activities.

20 per cent profitable use of leisure.

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2. In the academic field, class work to be secondary to individual development; each student to be responsible to her faculty counsellor for the quantity and quality of her work in all three fields.

3. Development of the student along the line of individual traits and interests.

So much has recently been written and said upon this important item of contemporary educational history, that a discussion of it here would be unnecessary even if space allowed. The marked success attained by dignifying some of the group activities should, however, be mentioned.

Those students who chose *Government* as their group activity were the officers of Student Government and others interested. They had Miss Coats for counsellor, and with her had a seminar course in ethics and government which was highly stimulating and helpful. School problems were studied in the light of philosophical theory and actual practice in the school democracy.

Those who chose *Christian Union* as their activity studied the history of religion, and discussed many topics of applied Christianity under the excellent guidance of Mrs. Elizabeth Marshall Perkins, and used the results of their study in the weekly meetings of the Christian Union, and in its philanthropic work. This activity was coördinated with the study of sociology. In both of these groups the training for leadership was clearly beneficial.

The group called *The Masqueraders* consisted of those especially interested in public speaking and dramatics from the point of view of the actor, the producer, or the business manager. The dramatic workshop was busy with studies in stage lighting, decoration, costuming, etc. With Miss Sleight as a counsellor, this group gave every evidence of fine work by the

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plays which they produced under student management. This was an extension of the work previously offered by Miss Sleight, with the added advantage of greater opportunity for student initiative.

Among other activities, previously in the "extra-curricular" class, and now recognized as on a par with academic work, three more must be mentioned because, like "The Masqueraders," they developed so much ability on the part of the students and so greatly enriched the life of the Academy.

The "Quill-Annals," or *Journalism* group, calls for an introductory sketch of the origin of Bradford's first successful student magazine, *The Quill*. In 1921-22 Miss Nina Hart, then teaching English in the Junior College, gave the necessary push to the enterprise which, many times in the past, the students had wished to launch. With Mary Findley and Esther Nichols as editors, the first number of *The Quill* was issued in October, 1921. It was a four-page, three-columned paper, one page of which was given to advertisements. It contained many news items and little essays and poems, the product of the English composition classes, stories, jokes, and alumnae notes. The last number of the year contained the important announcement that students were to be housed "three-in-a-suite" the following year, because the school wished to take more students, and to do away with the outside houses. The next year, on Miss Hart's retirement, Miss Mildred Burgess became the faculty sponsor for *The Quill*, and lent her excellent powers of organization to increasing its size and improving its quality. "Campus Chat" gave the school gossip, and considerable space was given to the school's spirited response to the endowment campaign. Miss Burgess helped the editors, Isabella Russell, Dorothy Smith and Dorothy Wilson, to consolidate the *Annals* and its younger sister, *The Quill*, under

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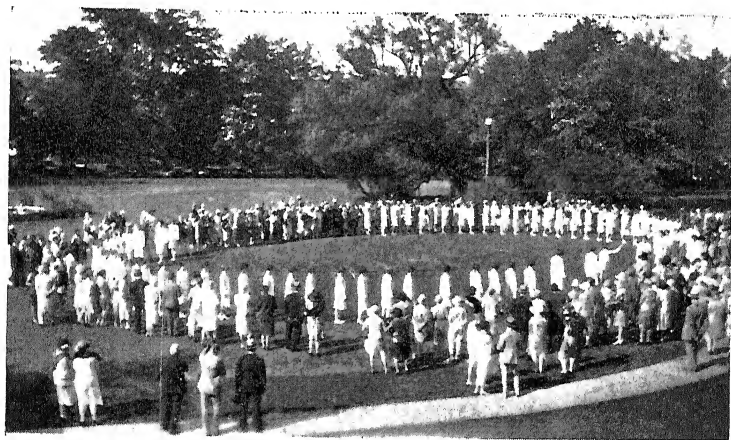
one editorial board, which resulted the following year in an economy of effort and expense. The little magazine grew in literary power, published very creditable verse, and under its section of the "Workshop" gave excellent criticisms of current drama, fiction, biography, and poetry, while the "Browsing Room" added very suggestive reading lists.

It will be readily seen that the workshop of *Quill-Annals* became an even more productive spot when its activities were given credit toward a Bradford diploma. The editors learned something of the dilemmas attending the refusals of manuscripts merely because there were only six issues of *The Quill*. Not only creative and critical ability were called out, but designers and budget makers must do their part. For housing some of the activities, the basement room containing the bowling alley, now fallen into disuse, was fitted up for an excellent workshop.

The two groups which appealed to and utilized musical ability were the Leonora Society and the orchestra. These joyous and often strenuous activities had formerly meant extra work added to full schedules. Under the "Bradford Program" they received the recognition due to two splendidly trained groups, specializing in the fine art of musicale ensemble. Those who "majored in Leonora" presumably wished definitely to develop musical ability. They not only joined in the choral singing but had a seminar in harmony and were likely to avail themselves of Mr. Johnson's course in the history and philosophy of music. The orchestra, naturally not so large a group, consisted of those students of violin and 'cello, of whom there were several, who were glad to be trained in ensemble. The coördination of what had been an outside activity with various music courses in the curriculum gave results in the June concerts which many remember with joy.



CLASS DAY, 1928



COMMENCEMENT, 1928

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Space will not allow further details of the "Bradford Program," but since it was transferred from Bradford Academy to Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, N. Y., in September, 1928, by the call of Miss Coats to become the first president of that new Junior College, its further development will be watched there with great interest in all educational circles.

Lest it should seem that the nine years of Miss Coats's administration were but a series of educational experiments, some other features of the full happy life of the Academy should not be omitted. Social events and regulations were now quite different in the two divisions of the school. The Junior College girls were given more freedom as to absences and the entertainment of guests, while the "preps" must, per force, keep doggedly at their books, because the colleges which they hoped to enter developed an inordinate habit of asking questions every few months about their progress. Their scholarly work was by this time bearing good results in the June "Boards," and some of them won at Bradford the key of the *Cum Laude Society*, a national honor society for secondary schools comparable to the Phi Beta Kappa of the colleges. Bradford Academy was the first school for girls to form a chapter of this society. The Junior College girls, not to be outdone, also organized an honor society, admission to which was conditioned upon scholarship and upon some outstanding piece of creative work.

The week's program usually contained either an interclass dance, a play, or a concert at the school. Toward the end of the year the faculty always gave a party for the seniors and tried to compete in originality with the girls who had so often entertained them. The faculty also mounted "the well-trod stage" and with Miss Sleight's help presented "A Scrap of Paper," "Mr. Pym Passes By," and "The Romantic Age." In

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order to preserve the solidarity of the school for most of the week-ends, a certain date in each term was announced as a "long week-end," when all students might be absent. One of these was at Thanksgiving. At the end of the first semester Mr. Seth Bassett, the good friend who had conducted the seniors many autumns to the White Mountains, now took a party every winter to Intervale for winter sports.

Bradford had long needed a real infirmary. The small quarters in the building were inadequate when an epidemic threatened, or for even one case of contagious disease. In the winter of 1926 Miss Coats appealed to the student body for help, and a wonderful response was the result in June. The new infirmary, a substantial brick building of the Georgian type, appropriately called the Marion Coats House, was opened in May, 1927.

The voices of the *Leonora* girls were never more beautiful than in Grieg's *Olaf Trygvason* at the June concert; *The Midsummer Night's Dream* was never played in so perfect a fairyland as by the freshmen in the grove; the class songs to Miss Coats were never sweeter than at the Commencement which closed her administration, June, 1927.¹

Psychologists differ as to the exact meaning of "the present," but for the purposes of this history the administration of Katharine M. Denworth, Ph.D., which opened in September, 1927, belongs to the paradoxical class of present history, and as such must await Bradford's next chronicler. A chapter of educational interest will doubtless be written on the development of the Junior College under her expert guidance. But this record cannot close without a tribute to Dr. Denworth, who, in the midst of new surroundings and thronging duties arranged and carried out the celebration of the One Hundred

¹ In July, 1929, Miss Coats married Mr. Clifford L. Graves.

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and Twenty-fifth Anniversary at the close of her first year. The dignity and variety of the program were largely of her planning, and the welcome which five hundred alumnae received came first from her.

Since a complete report of the Anniversary has been published in the *Alumnae Bulletin*, which was sent to every former student of the Academy who could be reached, it is unnecessary to give here more than a few impressions of its swiftly moving scenes. It was all more elaborate than the Centennial, but the ancient formulae of processions, receptions, tent luncheon, and formal congratulations were followed, and the whole program carried out with twentieth-century precision.

Color once so brilliant in the students' dresses which formerly *swept* down to the church, was now confined to the academic hoods of the speakers, delegates, and faculty. In place of speeches teeming with generalizations on education, female or otherwise, Dr. Calkins gave a crisp, vivid resumé of Bradford Academy history, sketching with lively accuracy the personalities which determined it, and President Comstock, in her Commencement address, showed how a personality grows, partly from predetermined inheritance, and partly from choice, into material which may be worthy of a biography. "It may not be a matter of choice that we were born in America, but we can choose, after all, the America in which we live."

The pageant-play, *The Beginnings of Bradford*, written by Maud Palmer Thayer, a teacher much loved at Bradford, presented on an outdoor stage, six scenes of Academy life all before Miss Hasseltine became sole principal. Students, faculty, and friends from the town of Bradford who directed the play or acted in it, recreated the high emotions of the missionary movement, the crude schoolroom of Benjamin Green-

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leaf, the cloying sentiment of the schoolgirls of 1830, Miss Hasseltine's hopes for a new Academy—all with such sincerity, that one suddenly knew that boys and girls, teachers and trustees of a century ago were as alive as the Class of 1928.

Five hundred "old Bradford girls" had reunions, some of them unexpected and others long planned. They wandered into the historical exhibition and found samples of nearly everything Bradford. Pictures—silhouettes of the first decade, daguerreotypes of the third and fourth, tintypes of the seventies and eighties, Vickery's class pictures of the eighties and nineties, blue prints and snapshots of the nineteen-hundreds, and the Bachman photographs of the nineteen-twenties.

One more scene chosen from many that are unforgettable. A June twilight; the big circle of classes with banners around the "Cookie"; the lighted doorway from which march the seniors singing their class song; a hush as all stand to honor the Bradford of today; class stunts and songs, some faltering and others rollicking; a member of '68 making music on a tiny instrument that her class may not be unheard; prizes and laughter and cheers; the old willow keeping tryst; the eternal stars looking down on one more "Singing on the Stairs."



KATHARINE M. DENWORTH

CHAPTER XIX

MUSIC AND ART AT BRADFORD

SINCE private schools have often been the laboratories where new theories and methods have been tried before they were adopted by the public schools, it may be interesting to outline, without details of technique, the development of the study of art and music at Bradford Academy in its century and more of growth.

Whether or not the fine embroidery, tambour work, lace making, and painting on satin and velvet were considered *fine art* in the Academy's first two decades, they furnished a way for the "young females" to express their aesthetic sense, and the skill they acquired under the teaching of the preceptress or her assistant created many beautiful things long after they left the Academy. The only drawing which seems to have been done along with these accomplishments was of a mechanical order for the calculation of eclipses and the making of maps, in both of which many girls excelled. As a matter of fact, drawing was not taught, even in the Boston schools, till William B. Fowles advocated it in 1821 and introduced it into his own school.¹ When Prof. Calvin Stowe made his report on Prussian schools to the Ohio Legislature in 1838 he emphasized the need of teaching drawing in American schools.

It was just at that time that the first mention is made in the Bradford catalogue of a drawing teacher, Miss Maria R. Whitney of Charlestown (1839). Some very interesting little pencil drawings made by Miss Frances Crosby of Boston, one of the authors of *Lord's Lectures*,² who attended the Academy

¹ *Art Education in Public Schools*, James Parton Haney. New York, 1908.

² See p. 173.

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when Miss Whitney was teaching there, are the earliest examples of this work by a Bradford girl which we have discovered. These painstaking copies of pictures of old castles, of the gate at Mt. Auburn Cemetery, of a view of Nazareth, and other melancholy subjects have the mortuary tone of the earlier funeral themes for embroidery, but in execution they are so surprisingly like certain modernistic work exhibited in New York in 1929, one is tempted to see if Frances Crosby's drawings might not be favorably received by a modern critic.

For an interval of ten years no teacher of drawing was listed in the catalogue. Perhaps the Academy was too serious a place for the "ornamental branches" in the forties, when Miss Hasseltine was establishing its reputation for as solid a curriculum as that of Mt. Holyoke Seminary. Then came Miss Harriet E. Green of Bristol, N. H., who taught pencil drawing for two dollars a term and crayon for three dollars. This, like French and Latin fees, was in excess of the regular tuition of six dollars.

Within a stone's throw of the Academy was the home of the musician Mr. Benjamin Robert Downes, his accomplished wife Wilhelmina Reitz, and their eight children. Mrs. Downes, as has already been shown, was a linguist and taught German under Miss Abby Johnson, also French and Italian, if necessary. She was also an artist of no small merit, as her miniature-like drawings show. For a few years (1851-1853), while her husband was teaching music in the Academy, she had a number of pupils in drawing, and would perhaps have continued longer but for family cares.

"Painting in oil and water colors" was officially recognized as art worthy of serious attention in Miss Abby Johnson's régime, and from 1867 the catalogue list read thus :

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Painting in oil and water colors	\$8.00
Pastel and Chromatic	\$8.00
Crayon and India Ink	\$5.00
Drawing	\$3.00

This ambitious program Mrs. Downes and Miss Ellen Carpenter divided between them, Miss Carpenter teaching the painting and continuing in that department for thirteen years. For a time she had an assistant, Miss Minerva Cushing (Mrs. M. C. Crocker of Fitchburg), who revived the teaching of plain and ornamental needlework, but whether she taught the making of wax flowers so popular at that time cannot be determined. Nine students were listed in 1870 as yielding to that refining art. Was it a season of hot weather or Miss Annie Johnson's academic principles which discouraged the teaching of this fragile accomplishment after 1875?

Miss Lucy Bell of Exeter began her teaching of drawing and painting in 1881 and for twelve years she made her weekly visits to the Bradford studio. She was a gentlewoman whose delicate and almost microscopic skill in drawing was not always appreciated by her students, especially after class drawing was made obligatory for freshmen and sophomores. This plan Miss Johnson had doubtless used in the public schools, so a course was laid out for free hand, perspective, and drawings of antique models. It is to be feared that Miss Bell cast a good many pearls of art before ungrateful freshmen and sophomores who found it easy to forget to go to the studio on Fridays.

Mrs. Warren's interest in the art department began about the time Miss Allen introduced the history of art. She and her daughter Cornelia believed that if an artist of recognized skill were appointed instructor at the Academy he would draw many pupils of talent. For this reason the *fine art* aspect of

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the department was emphasized, and the school was fortunate enough to secure Mr. Edward Barnard, and later, Mr. Albert Felix Schmitt, Mr. Richard Meryman, and Mr. John Sharman, all well-known artists. Occasionally the girl of real talent would appear, make a good beginning under the excellent teacher at Bradford, and then enter an art school where she could give all her time to that study. Meanwhile class drawing, as a required subject, was given up, because an artist does not enjoy forcing his teaching upon indifferent students. The most widely appreciated work done by the art teachers in Miss Knott's time, aside from the benefit to individual students, was an annual exhibition of paintings illustrating some of the best of modern art. These pictures were hung where all could see and enjoy them for two or three weeks, and familiar talks upon their merits and differences were given by the artist in charge. After the Great War the increase of costs made this delightful custom no longer possible.

Not infrequently girls with a liking for drawing came to Bradford wishing to discover whether they had a specific gift, while others wanted to experiment in some form of applied art. Since the Academy has never offered any strictly vocational courses it has not wished to do so in the Art Department. However, since 1921 Mrs. Kate Holston Carpenter has most successfully met the needs of both classes of students and has built up the department to a high level. Under her individual teaching undeniable talent has been discovered. At the same time the technique of various specific skills has been taught and foundations laid for those who might wish later to do designing and illustrating. The exhibitions of students' work at the end of the year have shown the excellence of the teaching and the enthusiasm and skill of the largest number of students who have ever studied in the department.



DRAWING BY FRANCES CROSBY, 1840

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The study of music has had greater continuity and a steadier development at Bradford than that of art. How much this may have been due to the presence of a piano in most American "parlors" by the middle of the nineteenth century one can only guess. Dr. Davison of Harvard has said, "Music lessons, like measles, are among the unescapables of the American home." Long before those days of prosperity, however, music study began at Bradford with the teaching of psalmody by the methods of the itinerant singing-school master. It was fitting that due attention should be paid to the singing of hymns and anthems in the Bradford school and church, for a century earlier Rev. Thomas Symmes had won a great battle for part-singing and singing by note. So horrifying was the innovation that "women fainted and men left the house; some ministers opposed it as the work of Satan."³

Probably the book used at the Academy by both boys and girls was one advertised in the *Haverhill Observer*, September, 1803:

"*The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony . . . including the whole of Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns, to each of which a tune is adapted; and some additional tunes suited to the particular metres in Tate and Brady's and Dr. Belknap's collection of Psalms and Hymns. With introduction of Practical Principles; the whole designed for the use of Schools, Musical Societies, and Worshipping Assemblies. By Samuel Holyoke A.M.*"

After a time secular music was sung. Very probably the school was taught selections from *Rural Harmony*, *Village Harmony*, or *Essex Harmony*, the works of Jacob Kimball (1761-1826) of Topsfield. The following lines in *Essex Harmony* were set to music by Billings, the popular tanner-musician:

³ Kingsbury, *Mem. Hist.*, p. 75.

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Music's bright influence, thrilling through the breast,
Can lull e'en raging anguish into rest;
And oft its wildly sweet enchanting lay
To Fancy's magic Heaven steals the rapt thought away.

With the founding of the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston in 1815 came an impulse toward better choral singing; and the Boston Academy of Music after 1833 attracted many adult teachers of singing to learn the rudiments of choral music. Just at this time piano making was greatly improved by the inventions of Jonas Chickering. The stage was therefore set for the academies to introduce the study of music as a part of their curriculum. The first teachers mentioned in the Bradford catalogue in 1833 were Mrs. N. W. Everett of Boston, who taught instrumental music, and Mr. Moses P. Parish of Byfield, vocal music.

Deacon Daniel Noyes, to whom frequent reference has been made, was probably responsible for the announcement in the 1837 catalogue that "Vocal music is taught scientifically, and has been made a permanent branch of instruction in the Seminary." His daughter Mary taught music both before and after her graduation and Eleanor gave a year of piano teaching.

When the second building was dedicated a special teacher, Mr. Artemas N. Johnson, came from Boston to drill the chorus, and the trustees sent him a vote of thanks with his fee. He afterwards spent at least parts of two years in the school. Probably he was the A. N. Johnson who was one of the three editors of *Melodia Sacra* (1852) and the author of *New Methods in Harmony* (1850), a textbook used in Bradford by Mr. B. R. Downes, who taught the chorus and gave lessons on the piano.

The quality of secular music enjoyed at that time in Bradford and elsewhere may be sampled from a collection once

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owned by Mr. B. R. Downes, now in the possession of his son, Mr. Herbert Downes of Bradford. Any one who thinks that the popular music of the twentieth century is inferior to that of the nineteenth should examine this collection of about 1850. Among the "piano pieces" are *The College Quick-Step* by S. R. Leland, *La Bostonienne*, *Valse Brillante* by J. S. White, *The Happy Robin's Waltz* by J. P. Ordway. Some of the songs are Schubert's *Wanderer*; Longfellow's *Village Blacksmith* by Hueberer; *The Deserted Wife, a descriptive Ballad: words and music composed and sung with marked applause* by I. B. Woodbury. The climax for lachrymose sentiment falls, for Bradford music lovers, upon:

"*Sister, Swift the Hours have Fled: Duett* written by one of the pupils of the Bradford Female Seminary for their Anniversary, July 16, 1850. Music composed and respectfully dedicated to the members of the V. S. C. C. by Edward L. White . . . published by Oliver Ditson."

This parting hymn of the Class of 1850 had a little more publicity than most of those tearful melodies which seldom went further than the Anniversary program. That of 1855 was unusual in being designed for two answering voices and a chorus. One suspects Annie Sawyer (Mrs. S. M. Downs) of having written the words for they are characteristically melodious:

Pure as the depths of the flowing stream,
Sweet as the spell of a lingering dream,
Bright as the hue of a sunshine gleam,
Now lies the Past.

The musical selections used at Anniversary were not named on the program till 1857. In that year, beside "music by the school" three songs were mentioned: *My Home, my home, my happy home*; *Hear me, Norma* (Bellini); and *Duett* from *Don Juan* (Mozart).

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For ten years (1860-1870) Miss Charlotte Kimball of Bradford (Mrs. James H. Nichols) was a justly popular teacher of piano and singing, and the chorus was trained by Mr. J. K. Colby, also of Bradford. We feel sure that they did not confine their selections to the *Seminary Bell*, and the *Laurel Wreath*, two "vocal class books" then in common use.

Just after the present building was dedicated Mr. Samuel M. Downs became director of the department of music and Miss Mary Barstow, the young graduate of 1868, began her long period of teaching. When the course of study was seriously revised in 1869-1870, music was recognized as an academic part of the curriculum, for in the junior year "a review of the principles of music" was required, probably a somewhat general exposition of theory. It is needless to attempt a characterization of the teaching of Mr. Downs whose work is today affectionately remembered by many of his pupils. He adapted his methods to each individual and gave each his best effort. Probably his greatest contribution was that he taught a great many who had been indifferent or indolent to love music and really to work for some skill. He chose for his students the melodic rather than the harmonic compositions of the classicists. His group of harmony students was larger than one might expect at that time. In 1901 he introduced the Virgil Practise Clavier, an instrument for developing technique, on the theory that if a student were not diverted by tone he could more intelligently concentrate on the mechanics of execution. This device he recommended to his pupils as he thought necessary. For the Commencement programs Mr. Downs taught the school to sing many of his own anthems, especially his *Te Deum* and his *Jubilate*.

The Leonora Society is the permanent memorial of Mr. Downs's contribution to the musical life at Bradford. Its be-

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ginnings in 1888 have already been mentioned. No special time was set apart for his training of the twenty-five voices in part-singing so he was forced to confine the rehearsals to preparation for the concert at Commencement. In May, 1890, an elaborate program opened with the singing of Soderman's *Peasants' Wedding March* and closed with Rheinberger's *Good Night*, both sung by the Leonora Society. His favorite cantatas were *The Lady of Shalott* and *The Legend of Bregentz*, both by Bendall, and *A Daughter of the Sea* by Cowen. The artists Mr. Downs brought to the Academy for the students to hear were many of them his personal friends, especially Mr. Ernst Perabo and the 'cellist Schroeder. Mme. Olga Samaroff came more than once, as also did Mr. Gebhart. It is to be remembered with regret that Mr. Downs, in his eagerness that the three concerts each year should be within the means of every student, paid the heavy deficits from his own slender resources. This double devotion to his profession and to his pupils, with his humor and his courtesy, which were his only weapons of discipline, are the traits for which he is remembered through the years of changing tastes and standards in the art he loved.

After the coming of Miss Knott a Glee Club was organized almost every year. This group, unlike the Leonora, was under student management unless a musical friend like Miss Alice Butterfield, a teacher of mathematics, found time to help in the training. Later Miss Lida Low adopted the Glee Club in addition to her own vocal pupils. She arranged many informal recitals for Sunday evenings in the parlor, when students discovered each others' gifts and skill in voice, violin, and piano. Especially delightful was the music for the Christmas and Easter Vespers and the carol singing by the Glee Club. Among other teachers of vocal music have been Mrs. Helen

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Allen Hunt and Mrs. Laura Littlefield, both of Boston.

Occasional students of the violin had the teaching of Mr. L. Edward Chase for a number of years, but stringed instruments had little more than periodic attention at Bradford before the coming of Miss Marie Nichols in 1915. Miss Nichols had studied with Molenhauer in Boston, and with European masters; had been a soloist with several of the metropolitan orchestras, and with it all, possessed a marked gift for teaching. While the number of her students increased at Bradford and Abbot Academies she added to her teaching in these schools and elsewhere the training of an orchestra at Bradford. This consisted of a permanent nucleus of Haverhill and Bradford young women whose musicianship fitted them to profit by ensemble practice, and students of violin, viola and 'cello in the Academy. With only weekly rehearsals — until 1926 — Miss Nichols trained this little orchestra of from twelve to fifteen strings so that, with the assistance of Boston players of other instruments, they gave concerts of real value. From the educational point of view, one of the chief benefits of such recitals was that it gave opportunities for individual students of violin, voice, and piano to be accompanied by an orchestra in a practically professional way. This is shown by the program of an orchestral concert, in which all three participated:

Handel	Concerto Grosso (three movements)	Orchestra
Bach	Concerto for two violins	Misses Green and Wilmot
Saint-Saëns	Aria, "Amour vien aider"	Miss Falconer
Accolay	Concerto in A minor (violin)	Miss Green
Mendelssohn	Concerto in G minor (piano)	Miss North
Rimsky-Korsakoff	Allegro	Orchestra

In the same year a concerto for violin and one for piano were played at the Commencement exercises. Several years

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earlier, also, the Commencement program contained two numbers played by a student string quartet. The orchestra also contributed much to the enjoyment of the senior and junior dramatics, especially when such plays as a *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* called for incidental music of a high order. At the historical pageant-play, *The Beginnings of Bradford*, they gave much of Dvorák's *New World Symphony*.

Bradford girls have not only had the opportunity of attending the concerts of the Boston Symphony Orchestra but have heard at the school some of the best string music through the recitals of the Kneisel Quartet, the Flonzaleys, the Fox-Burgin-Bedetti Trio — and who that heard him can ever forget the playing of the French violinist, Jacques Thibaud? Perhaps the school has enjoyed even more than all the others the recitals which Miss Nichols has given herself, for her programs have offered a most judicious and generous selection of the best in classical and modern music.

Mr. Frederick H. Johnson began to teach piano at Bradford in 1912 and in 1916 he became director of the department of music. His musical education at Harvard and under various teachers fitted him admirably for this position, because of his wide knowledge of the whole field of history, theory, and practice of music. He is a Fellow of the National Guild of Organists and has recently given up his position in the Bradford church to become organist and choirmaster in the Church of the Advent, Boston. He is also Dean of the School of Church Music which meets at Wellesley every June for a fortnight's intensive study.

Mr. Johnson's piano students early discovered that his high standards demanded their best work, and that the results sometimes surprised themselves. Several of his Bradford students have begun professional careers elsewhere. Organ stu-

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dents have had since 1923 the use of a small pipe organ installed in one of the practice rooms. His own recitals on the new organ in the Bradford church have given an additional opportunity for the hearing of good music.

Perhaps the chief source of Mr. Johnson's enthusiasm for a well-rounded musical education is his creed that not merely *good* music, but *the best* should be heard and taught at the school and college age. He therefore trains the school chorus to sing a few of the great chorales of Bach, and gradually those noble themes and harmonies become the only fitting way for opening the daily morning chapel. This innovation is now being adopted by some other schools. The best music has been presented in many interesting ways. A program given by Boston artists illustrating the use of such ancient instruments as the Viola da Gamba and the harpsichord was made up of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music, while another showed the values of the French horn and the clarinet in a modern orchestra. Mr. Johnson's courses in the history and appreciation of music have been filled with illustrations of interesting contrasts between the inferior, the good, and the best treatment of both old and modern themes. When the women's colleges began to allow music as a unit for entrance requirement and set examinations for their candidates, Bradford was glad to fit students for them. Stiff courses in musical theory have not frightened the music candidates at Bradford; on the contrary, they have been remarkably successful, not only in entering but in continuing their music in college. The first student who studied for honors in music at Smith College had her preliminary training with Mr. Johnson.

The largest number who have received a direct benefit from the teaching of the best music have been the sixty members of the Leonora Society. Starting each year with a majority of

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new voices Mr. Johnson has been able to train the group, sometimes by the middle of the year, to present a program containing such numbers as Rachmaninoff's *Glorious Forever*, the ancient Flemish *Prayer of Thanksgiving*, two Hebridean folk songs, a *Churning Lilt* and the *Death Croon*, and some of von Holst's settings of old English Christmas Carols. In the same season a joint concert was given at Bradford by the Radcliffe Choral Society and the Leonora, which showed that the choral music at the Academy was keyed to the same high aims as those which Dr. Davison set for Harvard and Radcliffe.

The first time the Leonora Society sang outside of the school was in the spring of 1919 when the girls joined with the choral society of Phillips Academy at a concert in Andover, followed by one in Bradford, an arrangement made possible by the coöperation of Mr. Carl Pfatteicher, the Andover conductor. The resulting social advantages for the Leonora girls added considerable zest to the strenuous hours of rehearsals, and Leonora membership became even more desirable. In the next few years these joint concerts demonstrated what results good training in the best music could achieve with the voices of girls and boys who were supposed to be jazz-mad! Andover and Bradford audiences heard them sing Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*, choruses from the *Messiah*, and eight of Bach's cantatas. The Leonora has also sung several times in Haverhill, Boston, and other neighboring towns.

The department of music has thus in the past two decades raised the standard of musical taste in the Academy, widened its field by the study of the organ, the harp, and other instruments, developed an orchestra, heightened the value of choral music, and has greatly increased the number of those who take an active part in providing music for the enjoyment of all.

CHAPTER XX

BRADFORD ACADEMY ALUMNAE ASSOCIATION

1870-1928

IN the numerous magazine articles of the past few years touching upon the relations between alumni and their college or school, readers have found a more or less humorous and an occasional acid flavor. Because of their inability to view the "dear old place" otherwise than emotionally alumni appear to be an unmitigated nuisance to the administration of the school or college; and if the stories are half true, no one can blame the college president who is reported to have said on the day after Commencement that he wished he could exchange jobs with a prison warden because his alumni would never want to come back. Again, there is the alleged attitude of the college which looks at its alumni chiefly as a reserve bank and estimates the loyalty of individual graduates in terms of dollars and cents. It has not been found necessary to publish an account of the normal relationship and affection—it is too common and obvious. The following brief sketch of the Bradford Alumnae Association is written by an alumna whose experience as secretary has run up and down the scale of discouragement, hope, and elation. She trusts that the only bias in the narrative is one of loyalty to the organization and the Academy, and of deep respect for her predecessors in office, especially Miss Magrath and Miss Barstow, who added to their secretaryship, the treasury, and to their faith, patience.

The sixty years which the Bradford Academy Alumnae Association has been in existence should show a record of activities commensurate with the development of the school during that period, that is, since the occupation of the present build-

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ing. A review of the "minutes of the last meetings" as transcribed by successive secretaries, however, creates a different impression. The records of the first thirty or thirty-five years read a good deal like a necrology. Such a body honors itself in paying homage to its deceased, but sometimes eulogies of the dead received more attention than plans for the present and the future. For about forty of those sixty years one finds also too many accounts of dues unpaid, incorrect addresses, "lack of interest among younger graduates," and "only a few present." Since the present writer was the recorder of some of those dismal phrases, but has lived to see a membership of more than two thousand, sixteen clubs, an annual *Alumnae Bulletin*, a printed *Register* of alumnae put into circulation, and an Alumnae Executive Secretary, she can, perhaps, show why the members were at first few and the results of their efforts painfully small, and also what factors have of late brought about greater results.

There were then as always the devoted few. The original committee which formed itself on Dedication Day, May 10, 1870, consisted of Abby Johnson, Linda Connor, Maud Bent, Elizabeth Cate Barrows, Lucinda Twitchell Morse, and Annie Sawyer Downs. When on Anniversary Day in July these and others formed the "Bradford Academy Alumni Association," their avowed object was, in the words of Mrs. Downs, "to perpetuate a keen and loving interest in our Alma Mater," and specifically, to add books to the library. For this admirable purpose the entrance fees of five dollars were to accumulate as a principal, the interest only to be used.

Since the fee was large, special inducements were held out to the eligible, who included "Members of Bradford Academy, all female teachers and past pupils." It was easy for the first president, Miss Abby Johnson, to promise that each member

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should always receive the annual catalogue and a welcome to all Bradford festivities, including a free ticket to the Anniversary Day luncheon! The name Bradford Academy Alumni Association was not bad Latin but good economics, for were there not a good many survivors of the "male department," and would not the five dollar bills of trustee "members of Bradford Academy" be very welcome? Since, therefore, entrance fees knew no distinction of sex, "Alumni Fund" was embossed in large gold letters on the big sheepskin-bound record book, but it has a queer look in the handwriting of Mary Magrath, the first secretary, whose eyes were ever keen for Latin terminations.

To increase the original number of thirty-five members, Mrs. Downs printed a circular of information about the Association, but she was immediately confronted by the fact that the school had kept no record of its graduates. Then began the familiar call, "Send your changes of address!" But there was no concerted action on that problem for many a year. The time for the annual meeting was on Anniversary Day, but since there was no money for current expenses no notices could be sent out. After the first purchase of library books, Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, it was decided to add the interest to the fund until it should amount to one thousand dollars, which came to pass in 1879. From that day to the present the Academy library has received increasingly large additions from this Fund.

Among those founders none was more active than Mrs. Barrows, the author in 1870 of the *Memorial History of Bradford Academy*, and the second president¹ of the Association.

¹ Presidents of the Alumnae Association.

1870 Miss Abby H. Johnson ('48), Principal of the Academy.

1873 Mrs. Elizabeth Cate Barrows ('42), Reading, Mass.

1879 Mrs. Caroline Whittier Train ('44), Haverhill.

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At her suggestion a meeting was called for social purposes in Pilgrim Hall in Boston in 1875, the first gathering to be held outside of Bradford. As is usually the case with social meetings, the better they are, the shorter the report of the secretary, so we know little about that first venture away from home.

The first reunion of importance which was planned by the Association took place in 1878 at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Academy. A committee of nine must have written many letters, for at that reunion a report was given from nearly every class since 1842. Would that those reports had been preserved! One of the girls who graduated that day remembers that all her class attended the meeting, and that Margaret Richards (Mrs. Stocks Millar) told of her relatives, descendants of Bailey Bartlett, who had been students at Bradford. Miss Annie Johnson made a stirring address on the condition of the school and told how much the alumnae could help by raising scholarships for able girls of narrow means.

Reunions on a larger scale began when two hundred and fifty met for luncheon at the Revere House, Boston, December 12, 1888. The front page of the broad *ménu* card bore a cut of the Academy, near which young ladies wearing large bustles disported themselves amid tiny trees. The other side

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- 1882 Mrs. Sarah Farnsworth Hunnewell ('68), Boston.
1885 Miss Aroline C. Hall ('49), Bradford.
1897 Mrs. Annie Sawyer Downs ('55), Andover.
1900 Miss Jean S. Pond ('85), Andover.
1903 Mrs. Josephine Morton Smith ('77), Readville.
1905 Mrs. Kate Anderson Wadsworth ('82), Quincy.
1910 Mrs. Mary Barstow Ward ('68), Newton.
1916 Mrs. Louise Fowler Pickhardt ('00), West Newton.
1922 Miss Ora Wood ('07), New Haven.
1922 Mrs. Helen Smiley Gilman ('94), Haverhill.
1925 Mrs. Alice Babson Whittemore ('05), Cambridge.

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of the card gave the bill of fare from escalloped oysters to frozen pudding—"with." A reception had preceded the lunch to which the guests sat down at three o'clock, quite able, probably, to do justice to the five courses for which they had paid one dollar. Husbands and other members of the "sterner sex," said the Boston newspaper, were there to the number of fifty. Miss Hall, the President of the Association, introduced Dr. A. S. Twombly of Charlestown as toastmaster. Although the gentlemen did most of the speech-making, a change in that respect had come since 1853. Miss Johnson was the first speaker, and of the six others two were women—Miss Alice B. Merriam ('78) (Mrs. George W. Coleman), and Mrs. Mary Richardson Berry ('54), both of them very able speakers. The toasts which Dr. Twombly assigned to two husbands of alumnae are too redolent of the eighties to be omitted:

"Dr. George Garland responded to the delicate sentiment of the fourth toast: Bradford Alumnae, who as wives, mothers, and sisters, are the beauty, charm, ornament and joy of myriads of Christian homes. Influencing by sympathy, and ruling by love, their blessed work is too often hidden from us in the unwritten, unspoken history of hundreds of homes."

"The fifth toast was: The glory of Bradford Academy is her daughters, and the glory of many of her daughters is the fame and honorable name of the husbands they have chosen. Known in art and literature, journalism and theology, medicine and law, they sit upon the judge's bench and in the highest legislative halls of the country. They were as famous upon the hardest fought battlefields of the Civil War as they are today in every contest for truth and freedom."

Mr. George A. Marden of Lowell met this challenge by saying that he did not like the toast, for he preferred a homely existence without cares or responsibilities.

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This notable occasion closed by the singing of the song which Mrs. Downs had written for the day, and which was used at reunions for many years.

When time was long and friends were near
And dear the task and rule,
The book and bell, the song and cheer
Of our dear Bradford school.
To auld lang syne, dear friends, etc.

This was the first of the "Quinquennials," an excellent precedent for the large reunions held in 1893 and 1898 at the Vendome, and with the omission of 1903 because of the Centennial in 1909 and 1914 at the Somerset. Even at the last reunion over two hundred alumnae gathered, including many who had never attended any other Bradford meeting, or kept up any other connection with the school. When the next five years came around, the war had changed conditions so that prices at the hotels were thought to prohibit any such gathering, and in fact, so large a number of alumnae has never come together since that time outside of Bradford.

The success of these large gatherings had been partly due, since 1897, to the New England Bradford Academy Club, founded in that year by the energy of Edith Foster ('93) and her friends, and sponsored by the Alumnae Association through its president, Mrs. Downs, and its secretary, Agnes Smith, '92 (Mrs. M. W. Stackpole). For nearly thirty-three years this Club has helped to maintain a happy relationship between the Academy and the New England alumnae, and between the alumnae themselves.

Mrs. Laura Bliss Miner ('68) was its first president and Mrs. Nina Quincer Gooding ('69) its second. With such a beginning and a membership of over a hundred and sixty it met with enthusiastic support. It was pleasant in those earlier

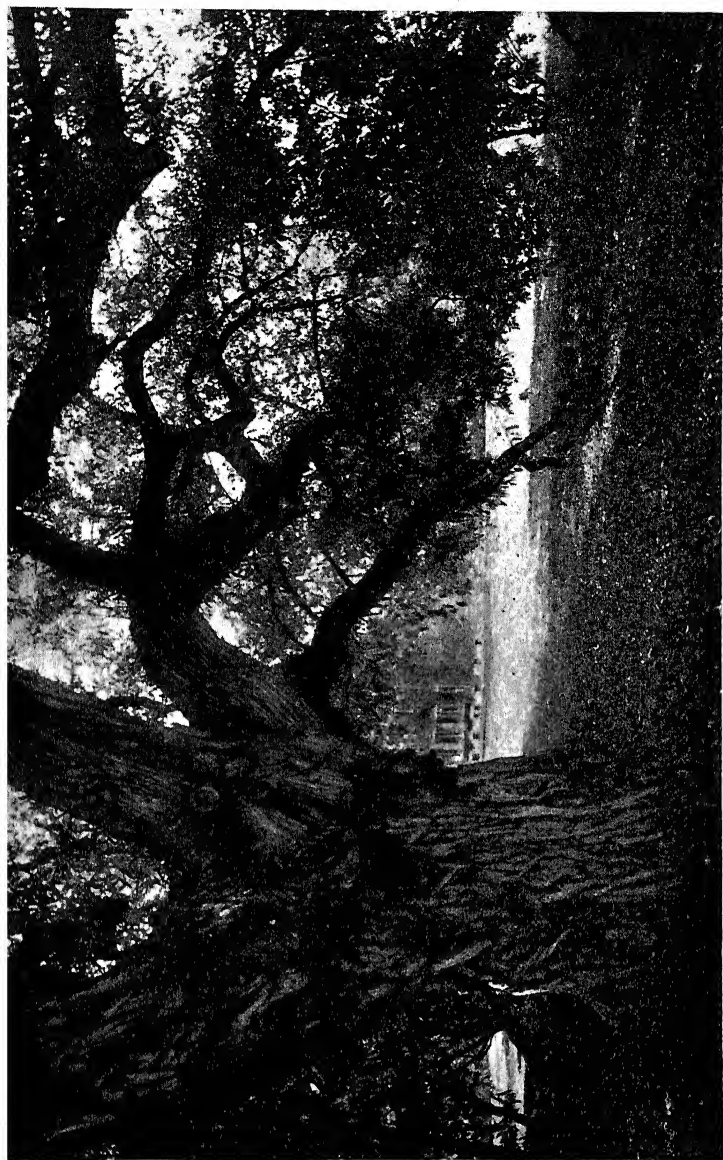
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meetings at the Vendome to fraternize with the Wheaton and Abbot Clubs — another parallel between the three schools. For a time the Club was affiliated with the State Federation and took some part in its activities, but it found that its social and academic programs did not easily combine with those of the Federation. To be entertained at intervals in such homes as that of Miss Hannah Gilman, Mrs. Nettie Blake Williams, Mrs. Irene Headley Armes, Mrs. Florence Deveraux Caswell and Mrs. Grace McLellan Lesh, to make an annual spring pilgrimage to the Academy and to enjoy the fun in the gymnasium or on the athletic field have been privileges one does not forget. Of all the Club's various activities for the Endowment Fund there is no space here to tell, but there should be room to honor the group of workers who during the past six years so joyously have brought to the school gifts beyond what they had promised.

Bradford Clubs started in New York, Chicago, and Cleveland, and more recently elsewhere, have given similar proof of their loyalty. May their number increase!

These clubs take us a little ahead of the story of the slow growth of the central organization to which we must return.

A big luncheon at the Vendome or the Somerset seemed like a boom for the Alumnae Association, but what of the five years between? Why so few permanent results to record? The first reason is that until 1905 the Association failed to catch the graduates as they left school and found it difficult to enroll them afterward; second, there was no complete list of addresses and therefore no adequate publicity; finally there was nobody to give the necessary time and labor to complete an organization. We will take these in some detail, hoping that a chance reader who wishes to be of use to her Alma Mater may see how some things should not be done.



THE WILLOW TREE

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At the fall meeting of 1905 the Association voted to change the five dollar entrance fee to one dollar annual dues, and the next June the Class of 1906 started the custom of joining the Association in a body; hence an assured addition of forty or fifty members every year. There was another decision at the time, to the effect that only graduates could become active members. This action was doubtless due to the fact that the management of the school was successfully discouraging "special students," and putting a premium upon graduation. A reversal of this policy in the Association has recently been made and with good reason, but the effect at the time was beneficial.

The lack of correct lists of old students' names and addresses was due to the fact that neither the school nor the Association had felt justified in hiring a competent person to do the work. Committees of alumnae had helped most generously, else there would have been no New England Club, but the whole complicated task had to be performed at the school. It was, as usual, Miss Knott who came to the rescue. She arranged to have her secretary, Miss Ellen R. Peck, do the work in addition to her regular school schedule and summer duties. Miss Peck put great enthusiasm into her extra task, as she did everything that came into her hands. Beginning at 1854, where Judge Brown's semi-centennial catalogue left off, she made a card catalogue including every name and date. That was a long but a comparatively simple task, but finding out what had become of "Hannah Cummins, Albany, N. Y. 1854" and hundreds of other lost ones was another matter. Genealogies, cemeteries, vital statistics, family Bibles and "old wives' tales" yielded much information. It was often an amusing puzzle to fit a married name to the correct maiden name, if there were a duplicate of either. Of course the task was never com-

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pleted, but the card catalogue was brought as nearly as possible up to date in 1907, and all without any extra compensation to Miss Peck. For the beginning of the *geographical* catalogue of names, the Association and school were indebted to Miss Fanny Appleton ('88) whose memory of names and people was phenomenal and whose interest in Bradford, the Association, and the New England Club was tireless. A small appropriation was made from the treasury of the Association for this valuable piece of work. Everybody knows that making such catalogues and keeping them up to date is like a housekeeper's job — never done. Who was to be responsible for not letting the work stop? The secretary² of the Association seemed to be the logical person to "carry on," and wished to do so, but since the secretary for a large portion of the time was doing full time teaching, she could give only odd hours to the work, and the task of directing by hand from six to eight hundred notices every fall and planning for the meetings was

² Secretaries and Treasurers of the Alumnae Association.

Secretary and treasurer:

1870 Miss Mary E. Magrath ('65), Bradford Academy.

1887 Miss Mary C. Barstow ('68), Bradford Academy.

Secretary:

1897 Miss Agnes Smith ('92), Andover.

1903 Miss Frances Mitchell ('97), Haverhill.

1906 Miss Jean S. Pond ('85), Bradford Academy.

Treasurer:

1897 Miss Mary F. Hatch ('77), Bradford.

1900 Miss Mary A. Ordway ('66), Bradford.

1903 Mrs. Helen Smiley Gilman ('94), Haverhill.

1906 Miss Eva S. Kammer ('00), Bradford Academy.

1910 Mrs. Eva Chase Mason ('01), Bradford.

1916 Miss Gladys L. Crain ('13), Newtonville.

1922 Mrs. Katherine Johnson ('13), Bradford.

1925 Mrs. Clara Carleton Pearl ('95), Haverhill.

1928 Mrs. Annie Bond Chapin ('09), Brookline.

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about all she could do for the Alumnae. Much help, however, was given from 1918 to 1921 by Miss Coats's secretary, Katharine Johnson, who, after her marriage, also acted as treasurer.

Then came the addressograph, paid for by the Association, and in 1922, before the endowment drive, the school employed Miss Marguerite Schneider to bring all addresses up to date so far as it was possible.

The third reason assigned for slowness of development was the impossibility of creating the publicity necessary for putting any large purpose or aim before the entire body of the alumnae. If this is kept in mind a review of the fund-raising projects sponsored by the Association is less disheartening than if read from the old record book. Until 1896, when an annual assessment of fifty cents was made, there was no income for the purchase of a postage stamp or a sheet of paper. So it is not strange that the annual meeting on Anniversary Day saw only from six to sixteen of the faithful. Yet within that time (1870-1896) the Library Fund had amounted to something over fifteen hundred dollars, and the "Alumnae Scholarship" of one thousand dollars started in 1878 at the suggestion of Miss Annie Johnson had been completed.

Meantime some of Miss Hasseltine's old students began the most ambitious undertaking yet attempted; a scholarship fund of twenty-five thousand dollars in honor of Miss Abigail Hasseltine, a name which would almost certainly have put the project "over the top" in a short time if the necessary publicity had been possible. Such faithful workers as Harriet O. Nelson, Caroline Cogswell, Mary Appleton Wood, Mary Munroe and Sarah Bird labored in a small circle, but after ten years (1889-1899), when only about two thousand dollars had been raised, they decided to make the total twenty-five

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hundred dollars, a sum which was completed by a gift from Judge Brown.

The loyalty and enthusiasm expressed at the Centennial made an opportunity for creating an endowment fund of substantial size. The proper preparation for using such an occasion as a financial expression of loyalty has recently been demonstrated by our good neighbor, Abbot Academy, at her own Centennial. By means of a well-equipped alumnae office and an executive secretary, by volunteer leadership and quiet work over a period of ten years, the Abbot alumnae brought in a birthday present of about two hundred thousand dollars. As we have seen, it was with the utmost difficulty that news of Bradford's approaching Centennial was sent to the alumnae, and nobody gave serious thought to the raising of an endowment fund till the October previous to the June celebration. Not till March were the alumnae informed that the trustees had pledged ten thousand dollars conditioned upon the alumnae's finding forty thousand dollars during the next year. Of this amount three thousand was given, and since it obviously fell short of the original design it was, with the consent of the donors, well used for furnishing the shower baths and lockers in the new gymnasium. The enthusiastic meeting of the alumnae at the Centennial has been described.

The next financial venture of the Association was occasioned by the desire to perpetuate the work of Professor Downs in an appropriate form. The money for his portrait had been raised by individuals led by Mrs. Mary Barstow Ward, but the very presence of the picture hanging over the piano at which he had presided inspired the plan of raising a music fund to help pay for the annual recitals for which Mr. Downs had himself expended so much money. Over a period of five years (1910-1915) the Downs Fund grew to two thousand

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dollars and has since become twenty-five hundred. During this time appropriations had also been made for the completion of the Caroline Sperry Allen Fund and other gifts.

In October, 1916, the Association found itself in the unusual situation of having four hundred dollars to be given to the school and waiting for instruction as to how it should be used. The president, Mrs. Ward, knew that the music department had the great hope that a pipe organ might be installed in the chapel. At the close of the October meeting she called upon Mr. Frederick Johnson, the head of the department, to speak on the need of the organ and the advisability of a campaign for funds. Mr. Johnson's enthusiasm was very contagious, and after his address pledges were made which seemed to warrant a general appeal. Letters were sent out within the next few weeks, and about twenty-eight hundred dollars was received out of the seven thousand dollars desired, and there the matter rested. The overwhelming calls for relief for war sufferers, then the Red Cross and Liberty Bond campaigns, made it clear that it was the wrong time for launching the good cause of the Academy organ. With a part of the money contributed, a small organ was purchased and installed in one of the music rooms as a practice instrument. The material of this can be used when the right time comes to add to the two thousand dollars on hand and to complete the amount for the chapel organ which is as much needed as ever.

The campaign for a building and endowment fund of five hundred thousand dollars which was launched by the trustees at the request of Miss Coats in 1923 to extend over a period of five years is such recent history it needs little comment here. Although it was not projected by the Alumnae Association it had the support and coöperation of that body (its treasury

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contributing twelve hundred and fifty dollars), the local clubs and a vast number of individuals. The methods of the firm employed by the trustees had the advantages and disadvantages of all such ways and means. If any alumnae remember with annoyance some of the publicity material mailed to them, they should also realize that the work called forth substantial expressions of loyalty not only from the "Old Faithfuls" but from very many unexpected quarters, that affection for Bradford was found to be almost always as strong among non-graduates as among graduates, and that the intensive beginning left the alumnae with an organization such as their wildest dreams had not pictured. And having gone about half way to the desired goal, achieving an endowment fund of over two hundred thousand dollars for the Junior College, what is to hinder the march over the other half of the way when the right time comes?

The last reason given for the slow development of the Alumnae Association was the self-evident one that there had been no one who could give full time to the organization of the alumnae, and keep up a friendly intercourse between distant "old girls" and the home center, where there had been for years an invisible but not inaudible advertisement, "Wanted! An Alumnae Office and an Alumnae Executive Secretary!" The office appeared by force of necessity during the endowment campaign, and the secretary because of the same acute need. When Mrs. Margaret Susskraut Dyer took up her duties, all things became possible: Annual *Bulletins*, which have by no means reached their acme of usefulness, local clubs which can be doubled or trebled in number, large plans for a future of ever increasing service to the school and coöperation in even wider fields.

Some of those fields were slightly opened to view by two

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alumnae conferences planned by Miss Coats in 1925 and 1926. These conferences to which each club and other large groups were asked to send representatives had two objects: first, to give to the alumnae first-hand information about the Academy in its normal working condition (not in Commencement excitement), and second, to get the alumnae in various professions and vocations to present to groups of the present student body the opportunities and features of their own vocations, including home making. This vocational side of the conferences proved to be most interesting, but it hardly fulfilled its function of giving detailed information to students whose school days were too crowded for extra additional appointments. Another and greater obstacle was the difficulty felt by the clubs in financing representation from such distances as Cleveland, Chicago and Kansas City. The excellent ideal should not be lost, however, for Bradford graduates are now gaining experience in so many fields about which their younger sisters are eager to know, that ways and means for bringing them together must sometime be found.

A very definite form of service for a few alumnae has grown out of the need of a closer relationship between trustees, school, and alumnae, in the now common plan of alumnae representation³ on the Board of Trustees. The first two to serve in this capacity have already been mentioned: Mrs. Downs and Miss Mabel Hill. The wisdom of the five-year limit has

³ Alumnae Representatives on the Board of Trustees.

1899 Mrs. Annie Sawyer Downs ('55), Andover.

1902 Miss Mabel Hill ('83), Wellesley.

1907 Mrs. Kate Anderson Ellsworth ('82), Quincy.

1912 Mrs. Mary Barstow Ward ('68), Newton Centre.

1918 Mrs. Agnes Smith Stackpole ('92), Andover.

1923 Mrs. Helen Smiley Gilman ('94), Haverhill.

1928 Mrs. Alice Pearl Clement ('06), Haverhill.

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been demonstrated, for it has been possible for alumnae to nominate six of their number to the Board, and the trustees have the power to reëlect them when their term as representative expires.

Vocational lists of Bradford graduates plainly show that many of the awful results of "female education" dreaded by Anniversary orators a century ago have come to pass. Girls have taken their Bradford training into study for professions and occupations of all sorts. They have become expert accountants, personnel directors, hospital superintendents, librarians, teachers, lawyers, doctors, and so on into the uncounted openings for women today. Some of them carry on their professional and home life together without detriment to either. The great majority combine home making with voluntary service in club, church, and a thousand civic and religious agencies. Their children and often their communities unconsciously reap the harvest which has grown from the seed planted long before at Bradford.

There is no ground here, however, for complacency on the part of alumnae or of those who determine the destiny of the old Academy. They must find the means for maintaining its ancient trust of educational and religious idealism, while they advance its standards to meet the needs of young women who must be prepared for life in an increasingly complex world.

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